DISSENT

THE NEGROES ACT

1. The State vs. the Student, by *L. D. Reddick* . . . 2. "We Are Not Afraid," *by Ellsworth Janifer* . . . 3. Students and Faculty, *by William Gibson* . . . 4. The Politics of the New Negro, *by Michael Walzer*

Migratory Farm Labor	HERBERT HILL
Albert Camus	N. CHIAROMONTE
Democracy in New Nations	ASOKA MEHTA
A Journey to Cuba	D. M. FRIEDENBERG
On the End of Ideology	DENNIS H. WRONG
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A Symposium on TV:
Irving Howe, Dwight Macdonald Ernest van den Haag, Murray Hausknecht, Bernard Rosenberg

In the Book Section:
William J. Newman, Paul Goodman discuss sociological studies of Mass Society and Community

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ALBERT GOLDMAN

Those readers of DISSENT familiar with the history of American radicalism during the past several decades will be saddened to learn of the recent death of Albert Goldman in Chicago.

Al Goldman was a pioneer of American radicalism. His name first became well-known when he served as a lawyer defending trade unionists and left-wingers in the Chicago courts. Like many others of his generation, he went through the experience of Communism, abandoned that for a leading role in the Trotskyist movement, and then in the latter part of his life, declared himself a democratic socialist. To this last conviction he held until his death.

Al Goldman was a remarkably gentle man; warm, affectionate, humorous. Even during the years when he participated in movements that often sought to create for its leaders a mask of "Bolshevik" toughness and superiority, he quietly held to his own traits. He was a man who lived by ideas and ideals larger than personal career or advancement—something suspect and scorned at the moment, but perhaps finally more admirable than the modes of conduct that have replaced it.

It is sad to see another figure of Al Goldman's generation go, and it is sad to think that he himself, quizzically and kindly asking one questions about DISSENT, about left-wing politics, about the news back East, will no longer be there in Chicago. His generation has in recent years been much attacked and even maligned, often by its own members; but one sees no replacements in idealism or devotion.

Those of us who knew him, worked with him, disagreed with him, honor the memory of Al Goldman.

I. H.

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DISSENT

VOLUME VII
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A QUARTERLY OF SOCIALIST OPINION

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"LET US MARCH IN UNISON"

On March 30, over 30,000 Africans marched in Cape Town to demonstrate against the cursed apartheid, *and the tyranny of the South African regime was shaken. New young leaders arose to speak for the Negroes, as they have arisen recently in many parts of the world. Perhaps the most remarkable was Philip Kgosana, a former student of the University of Cape Town, who led the march of the 30,000. Here, for the first time in an American publication, is the text of Mr. Kgosana's speech at the launching of the march:*

Sons and daughters of the soil, on Monday, 21st March, 1960, we launch our Positive Decisive Action against the Pass Laws. Exactly 7 a.m. we launch. Oh, yes, we launch—there is no doubt about it. (ALL OVER.)

We have reached the cross roads—we have crossed our historical Rubicon —Izwe Lethu!

At this stage of our struggle we have a choice before us. Are we still prepared to be half-human beings in our fatherland or are we prepared to be citizens—men and women in a democratic non-racial South Africa? How long shall we be called Bantu, Native, Non-European, Non-White, or black, stinking Kaffir in our fatherland? When shall we be called Sir, Mr., Mrs., Miss, Ladies and Gentlemen? How long shall we stay in the squalors of Windermere or the Sahara Desert of Nyanga West? How long shall we rot physically, spiritually and morally—*ema Plangeni*? How long shall we starve amidst plenty in our fatherland? How long shall we be a rightless, voteless and voiceless eleven million in our fatherland?

On what meat doth this our oppressive White Man Boss feed that he has grown so great? Sons and daughters of Africa—there is a choice before us. We are either slaves or free men—that's all.

Our overall fight is against imperialism, colonialism and domination. I want to be properly understood here. Let the world take note, that we are not fighting Dr. Verwoerd simply because he is Dr. Verwoerd; we are not fighting against the Nationalist Party or the United Party. We are not fighting against Europeans or Indians or Chinese. In short we are fighting against nobody. Our energies and forces are directed against a setup, against a conception and a myth. This myth—others call it racial superiority, others call it herrenvolkism, others white leadership with justice, or white supremacy. We are fighting against the Calvinistic doctrine that a certain Nation was specially chosen by God to lead, guide and protect other nations.

We are not a horde of stupid, barbaric things which will fight against a white man simply because he is white. No sensible person can do that.

In order to destroy this myth of race superiority, the Pan-Africanist Congress has drawn up an unfolding program—which starts tomorrow and ends up in 1963 with the realization of the United States of Africa. We start with

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1. THE STATE VS. THE STUDENT

L. D. Reddick

On the day this was received, the newspapers reported that L. D. Reddick had been fired from his faculty post at Alabama State College by the State Board of Education on the motion of the Governor. This has precipitated a storm of protest. No charges had been presented to Reddick nor was he given an opportunity to answer the attack upon him that the Governor had made before the Board, and released to the press, prior to notifying Reddick of his dismissal "before sundown," June 14, because of past "Communist associations." Reddick is receiving wide support in his fight to have the dismissal order rescinded and an impartial hearing set up.—EDITORS

If a cartoonist wished to exhibit the essentials of the current racial war in Alabama, he would only have to picture the actual scene that took place Tuesday morning, March 8, 1960, at the intersection of Thurman and Jackson streets where the campus of Alabama State College faces the city of Montgomery. On the city side of the street, lined up shoulder to shoulder, stood policemen with their pistols, clubs, cans of tear gas, etc. And behind them for a half block were state and county law enforcement agents with several types of guns and about thirty squad cars, motorcycles, a patrol wagon and a fire truck. High officials were in command.

On the opposite side of the street, the students of Alabama State College stood, some of them with their books under their arms.

The police had just arrested some thirty odd of the collegians who, with their placards, had gotten about a half block from the campus on the way toward one of their mass meetings that was to be held in a neighborhood church. The police were massed to intercept any further advances of the students who were now pressed back on the campus which was state property. For a short while, the young people watched in grim silence, then burst forth with their song: "We Are Not Afraid."

Here were the contestants, the protagonists in the all-too-real drama, reflecting in posture and gesture their cultural contrasts and their instruments and methods of warfare: enlightenment vs. crudity; the book vs. the billet; a song vs. epithets; and black vs. white, for there were no white students nor any Negro policemen.

A passing stranger, coming unexpectedly upon this scene, might have assumed that such a show of force must have been meant for capturing or otherwise subduing something so terrible as "public enemy

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number 1." In a sense, the stranger would not have been very wrong, for the full power of the city, county and state governments had been mobilized to crush what the politicians and others of the local power structure certainly felt was the most serious challenge that their Jim Crow way of life had yet encountered.

THE STUDENTS had made their first move the previous Thursday when some thirty-five of them filed into the snack bar at the county courthouse. (They were not served.) Thereafter, for about a week, they made some new thrust at Jim Crow each day.

The reaction of the politicians in power was immediate and massive. All of the engines of state and local government—executive, legislative and judicial—were brought into play. It was a brutal and wide-sweeping campaign of official verbal abuse, new laws, investigations, police and court action. The following examples are merely suggestive of a long and terrible tale.

As soon as the Governor got word of the visit of the students to the courthouse snack bar, he telephoned the president of their college, denounced the students and demanded their expulsion. Not content with that, he summoned the president to his office and there, according to the newspapers, told him: "The citizens of this state do not intend to spend their tax money to educate law violators and race agitators and if you do not put a stop to it, you might well find yourself out of public school funds."

The Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, an alumnus of the college and head of the Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights, termed the Governor's demand as "totalitarian in spirit." The Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, also an alumnus and head of the Montgomery Improvement Association, also criticized the Governor sharply. A student committee said in a press statement: "We deeply resent the humiliating treatment to which the Governor has subjected the president of our college." There were other strong though scattered reactions along this line. Accordingly, three days later the Chief Executive was reported to have softened his tone, explaining that what he said to the college president was not so much a threat but "by way of advice" and that he meant that only the "ring leaders" should be expelled from school.

When the college president recommended to the State Board of Education that the students should not be expelled but placed on probation, the Governor—ex-officio member of the board—swept this aside and insisted that nine of the students be thrown out and that the twenty-four others receive suspended sentences.

Naturally this stimulated the student body to counterthrusts and so the battle was on. Despite the pressures upon them, the collegians kept up their end of the struggle—and so did the Governor. At a meeting of the State Board of Education on March 25, exactly one month after the snack bar incident, the Governor "demanded the firing of any faculty member of Alabama State College who encouraged student

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protests." Reverting to his usual forthrightness, he declared that the college president "must straighten out the situation at Alabama State or the school board will find someone who can." Upon the Governor's order, the State Superintendent of Education had begun a "full investigation of the school, faculty and students," reporting that "at least 11 members of the faculty have not been loyal to the school" or "Alabama laws," as one newspaper put it. The press played up the anticipated "purge" of "disloyal" teachers so strongly that in many parts of the country, it was assumed that 11 members of the faculty had been actually discharged.

At one of his press conferences, the Governor while praising the law enforcing agencies and the behavior of white Montgomerians, condemned "Negro agitators" and declined to criticize a group of white toughs who had paraded down the town's main street with midget baseball bats in hand, looking for Negro "agitators" and "demonstrators."

The State's Attorney General echoed the Governor's sentiments by labeling the student demonstrations as "highly dangerous and inflammatory."

As we shall see, the county executive officers expressed themselves more in deeds than in words. However, city officials were almost as quick as the Governor with verbal abuse. For example, the Mayor was out of town when the snack bar visit occurred. However, a statement was read for him over radio and TV and printed in the newspapers, no one apparently noticing or bothering to correct his verbal error: "I wholeheartedly endorse Governor Patterson's stand that College President Trenholm investigate the incident and expel any of the college students involved. . . . We shall make every attempt to maintain law and order in Montgomery but I feel that I must warn the Negro people of this community that the tempers of the white citizenry of our city is [*sic*] being pushed beyond their power to control."

The Police Commissioner, red faced, eyes blazing and mispronouncing the word Negro, declared over TV: "We do not intend to permit outside forces to create, provoke or otherwise incite any racial incident here in our city. . . . The Montgomery Police Department is under instruction to enforce existing laws and to take whatever action that is necessary to suppress agitation and prevent violence. . . . I want to assure the citizens of Montgomery that we are prepared to take whatever actions that might be necessary to maintain and preserve the time-honored traditions and customs of the South."

In response to such outbursts, the Reverend Mr. Abernathy charged that: "certain statements by public officials that were made over TV and radio, and reported to the press could be easily interpreted by lawless elements as an invitation to violence. Public officials, whose sworn duty it is to maintain order impartially, cannot afford to give the fringe element a green light to take the law into its own hand."

During the month of the more extensive student demonstrations, the Mayor would "flay" the student "agitators" from time to time but

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it was the Police Commissioner who became the dominant figure in municipal affairs. It was he who would ask that the college be closed down, called for and got new laws on the books and personally took a hand in directing the police as they were deployed in major encounters.

The state law-making agency did nothing new for the sitters-in. It had already enacted comprehensive Jim Crow legislation—especially a "catch all" disorderly conduct statute. Moreover, the legislature was not in session during the demonstrations and perhaps it feared to reconvene in special session, for the teachers of the state—especially the white ones—were in an uproar. They were demanding that the law makers do something about a threatened reduction in teachers' salaries because state revenues were falling below budgetary expectations. Moreover, since Montgomery was the seat of the student trouble, leaders of the state legislature expressed confidence that the city commission there could cope with the situation. Accordingly, three new ordinances were adopted to the end that the "power to curb demonstrations be given to the police." One of these new laws prohibited all demonstrations, parades, processions, etcetera, except funerals. The second authorized owners and managers of eating establishments to evict "trespassers." The third broadened the definition of "disorderly conduct," making it consistent with the state law, which covered almost every imaginable possibility of individual or group action that might be remotely interpreted as a "breach of the peace." The city commissioners—the Mayor, Commissioner of Police and the Commissioner of Parks—also repealed all specific segregation ordinances for these might be sitting ducks for the sharp-shooting Negro attorneys in federal courts. This is the new line in some parts of the South: make the Jim Crow law general and avoid specific mention of race or color.

The pressure of executive authority and legislation was constant but the most obvious use of state power came in the realm of police action, as supported by the courts and a network of investigators and inspectors.

The first picture of the student demonstrators that appeared in the newspapers also showed, standing before them, the county sheriff making an awkward gesture with his nightstick. This was in the hall outside the snack bar. Nobody was jailed at this time for the city police, on second thought, realized that it was not their business to make arrests in the *county* courthouse and the sheriff realized that the courthouse was a public building. And so neither was quite certain on what to do. The next day, to the surprise of everyone, the students—in augmented numbers—made a second visit to the courthouse. This time they came to a court session where a fellow student, who had made an error on his voter registration application, was being tried for perjury. On the third day, the collegians marched to the First Baptist Church for a rally and on the fourth day—over half of the student body participating—paraded to the Capitol steps for a brief ceremony.

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And so on through the week. Clearly the students held the initiative, kept their intentions secret and left the enemy confused.

ALL THIS WOULD CHANGE when the adult Negro community joined in to manifest publicly its backing of the student uprising. Following the more traditional lines of open announcements, the Montgomery Improvement Association invited the Negro churches of the community to join in services on the Capitol steps Sunday afternoon, March 6. Apparently, this was just the thing that the enemy had been waiting for—something definite for which he could get set. Accordingly, the Police Commissioner issued his order prohibiting the meeting and state, county and municipal forces were coordinated into a unified army. Deputies from local and surrounding counties were recruited for reinforcement. This was the first time that mounted units had been used for a public disturbance and subsequently the Police Commissioner and the Sheriff had to admit under oath that this was the greatest accumulation of law enforcing strength that had taken place locally during peace time. Eyewitnesses and photographs pictured the Capitol ringed by state guards standing three feet apart and city police stationed in military formation about the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church where the Negroes were gathered prior to their march across the street to the Capitol grounds.

And all of this for what and against whom?

Professor Ellsworth Janifer has given a vivid description of this ugly scene that may be read on other pages of this publication. It should be added that the twin success of the law enforcing authority in thwarting the Negro meeting and at the same time holding back the white mob that would have assaulted the Negroes, provided the occasion for the defenders of segregation to seize the initiative and at the same time present themselves as impartial defenders of law and order.

Nevertheless, the students were not done. On Tuesday, March 8, once again they sallied forth. This time, they were armed with placards proclaiming: "1960 not 1860," "9 down, 2,000 to go," "Who's President of ASC—Patterson or Trenholm?," "Alabama versus The Constitution," "Democracy died March 4, 1960," "We want Justice" and "It's a Shame." The college men and women started marching about the campus but were ordered away by the superintendent of buildings and grounds, who had elected to enforce a directive of the college president that no more meetings or demonstrations should take place on the school premises. The students then slowly and reluctantly began to leave, moving on toward a nearby church where they had scheduled a mass meeting that would follow their placard parade. Just as they were about a half block away, the police in cars and motorcycles intercepted the advance column, pushed it back from the sidewalk into the lawns of the residences there and arrested thirty-seven. While waiting for the arrival of the paddy wagon, one robust policeman, who apparently felt so warm on the cool day that he did not need his jacket, raised his billet and yelled

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out: "I want the meanest nigger in the crowd to step out." He paused, walked up a few paces and repeated his vulgar challenge. Fortunately or unfortunately, nobody stepped forward. After the young men were frisked and loaded in the patrol wagon, one of the policemen commanded: "Five of you nigger gals get in here," pointing to one of the squad cars. Incidentally he was talking this way to some of the most attractive coeds.

In a few moments, the whole block was filled with state, county and municipal "peace" officers and then ensued the scene described in the first paragraphs of this report.

While the students and the policemen were lined up facing each other, one officer discovered a placard that was leaning up against the corner grill. When he turned it over, it read: "It's a Shame!" This seemed to be so appropriate to the situation that not only did the students laugh in derision but some of the policemen, warming up to the absurd situation, laughed too. After the stalemate dissolved and the police cars and motorcycles began to pull away, one of the student leaders shouted: "We'll be back tomorrow too and fill up the jails."

Apparently, the Law intended to accommodate the students fully, for early the next morning it was discovered that Oak Park, about three blocks from the campus, was the rendezvous for trucks and trailers, horses for the mounted police and other equipment sufficient to envelop, subdue and cart away the entire body of the college. This was intended to be a surprise move for when photographers of the daily press discovered the hideout, they were forcibly prevented from taking pictures of it. One cameraman was roughed up while a police officer, nearby, deliberately looked the other way.

This happened to be a rainy day and because of the inclement weather or for tactical reasons, the students called off their scheduled demonstration, thus leaving the Oak Park forces with no place to go. In the evening, they slunk away.

The next morning, bright and early, the students did put on their demonstration. And in a matter of minutes, after the parade of banners and singing got going, the police were back in their places, lined up across the street from the campus. No physical clash occurred for this time the students were careful not to step off state property. Impishly, they would march directly up to the very edge of the campus, that is to the city street and then as the police made ready to assault or capture them, the young people would turn their columns right or left, thus remaining on the campus out of reach. At first, this angered the cops, but after a while, they caught on and joined in the game. The superintendent of buildings and grounds, now aware of his great unpopularity, was conspicuous by his absence.

On the next day, Friday, the thirty odd undergraduates who had been arrested on Tuesday, came to trial. Most of them had never been inside a jail or courtroom before. The experience was most enlightening.

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None was physically abused. None felt guilty or ashamed. One girl said that she wished she had a photograph of herself standing in her cell. The collegians saw the conditions of prison life with their own eyes. They interviewed and made friends with fellow inmates.

In court, they got an intimate view of the process of justice, Alabama style. Seeing and hearing the Police Commissioner testify, they could observe his voice and manner and evaluate his statements and opinions. They could note that what the police said in court varied greatly from what they themselves knew to be true of the circumstances of their arrest. They contradicted the police who said that they were "disorderly" or that they refused to obey any order of the policemen. The young "criminals" heard the judge rule that they were all guilty (except several who were accidentally passing on the street when the incident occurred). They listened to the judge charge them with "breaching the peace" but did not hear one word from him on the right of peaceful protest. For each student, the fine was $200 plus costs of court. Thus the new city ordinances, buttressed by police and court action, now prevented any type of demonstration whatsoever in the city of Montgomery.

Neither was it possible any longer to hold meetings on or off the campus without the intrusion of policemen, detectives and investigators. Apparently, telephones were no longer channels of private communication. Also, there were a few spy suspects in the student body. Thus plans that had been so well kept at the beginning of the movement were now known to the police before they could be effectuated. Moreover, investigators were photographing those who attended the meetings—especially anyone who spoke or otherwise had a significant role.

And so the meetings petered out since there was little point in having a get-together in which nothing could be said or done.

The external pressures were complemented by internal pressures that the college administration exerted. Moreover, there were some hostile faculty members and some disagreements among student leaders over strategy.

The harassment was stepped up at all points. Continuously, prowl cars and motorcycle cops, in pairs, would cruise through the campus —night and day—making noisy sounds with their motors and looking intently as though they were "casing the joint." Students were cleared off their favorite hang-out corner, at the grill opposite the campus. Any college man out late at night could count on an encounter with the police. Professors and other motorists in the college area were given traffic tickets for minor and imaginary violations.

The entire Negro community was under the hammer. Homes were entered without search warrants if more than a half dozen persons were noticed gathering there. Night clubs were raided. Automobiles were stopped and "investigated." Several of the nine expellees were arrested as vagrants. Their families, too, were made aware of dire consequences of the "dangerous course" their children were pursuing. Almost every day there was a new story of some Negro who was shot or, as the papers

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put it, "had to be subdued while resisting arrest." So widespread was the terrorization that Martin Luther King, of SCLC,* Walter Reuther of the AFL-CIO and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, appealed to the President of the United States and the U.S. Attorney General to intervene. If the message got through, no response was visible.

THE LOCAL PRESS that had been less conscious of its social function in the beginning and at first had printed a few unfavorable stories about the behavior of the police and "white lawlessness," soon recovered its orientation and thereafter made heroes of those who stood against the student movement. In the later days, there was a complete blackout in the daily press of statements from the student spokesmen. Not even their letters to the editors were printed. Only through the national radio and TV networks and northern newspapers was there a chance of getting the story of the suppression of civil rights out to the world. Accordingly, the state power moved to silence this voice of objective reporting and criticism. Libel suits were filed against the New York *Times* and NBC (National Broadcasting Company) was charged with "staging and directing" one of the student demonstrations.

Any associating of whites and Negroes on a basis of equality and friendship was to be rudely broken up. A white woman who was collecting funds for the Cancer campaign, reported that she saw Negroes "being entertained" in the home of a white family. The hosts and guests were arrested but were freed by the courts when they insisted that the visit was for business and not social purposes. A Professor of Sociology from MacMurray College in Jacksonville, Illinois brought along his wife and his two-months-old baby with his class on a field trip to Montgomery. While eating lunch with several Negro students and officials of the Montgomery Improvement Association in the private dining room of a Negro restaurant, they were photographed, arrested and then convicted in city court of conduct "calculated to breach the peace." At the trial, eye-witnesses and residents of the neighborhood were astounded to hear police officials state under oath that the arrests were necessary because a hostile crowd of Negroes had gathered outside the restaurant, presumably to express their resentment of the mixed dining. Actually, such luncheons for visiting groups had been held in that restaurant for years and nobody remembers the slightest objection on this score from anybody.

The Negro and white diners were segregated for transportation to police headquarters, jailing and even at the trial. Fraternization between the black and white defendants during the court recesses was broken up by the guards. Everybody was found guilty; however, the nation-wide publicity made sensitive Montgomerians wince—especially since one of the visiting students was a girl from France who was at MacMurray on a Fulbright fellowship. So, on appeal, the jury freed the white students but held their professor guilty. (He should have

* Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

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known what he was doing.) Strangely, the Negro students, in a related but separate trial and before a judge, without a jury, were found guilty.

Immediately, after the racially mixed lunchers were carted away by the police, inspectors appeared at the restaurant and found that it was a health hazard, that its beer license should be lifted and that the place should be closed down for a while altogether.

THE DEPRESSING TREND of events was somewhat relieved by developments in the trial of Martin Luther King that came in mid May, Among other things, he had been charged by the local papers with directing the student revolt by remote control. As King was shifting his base of operation from Montgomery to Atlanta, apparently, the state of Alabama felt compelled to make one last desperate lunge for him, charging him with falsifying his state income tax returns. It developed that the state found itself involved in something much bigger and more difficult that it had bargained for. Many students attended the trial and were especially heartened by the skill and courage of King's legal staff. During the pre-trial motions, King's lawyers moved that the courtroom and its facilities be desegregated, for, they argued, if the Supreme Court held that a Negro child could not secure an adequate education in a segregated school, how much more difficult must it be for a Negro defendant to receive a fair trial in a segregated courtroom and before a white judge and jury? Again, if the court officials had gained their offices by means of an election from which Negroes had been systematically barred, were such legitimately holding office? The whole discriminatory nature of "Alabama Justice" was thus brought out in the open. The Negro attorneys subpoenaed the Police Commissioner, Sheriff, editors of both daily papers and extracted from them the admission that the local and state enforcing mobilization was greater than ever before. All of this testimony was to the question of whether King could expect a fair trial in Montgomery. The issues were raised so sharply that the public as well as the judge and jury knew that the eyes of the world were upon the city and that the foundation was firmly established for an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, if this became necessary.

THE STATE POWER was thus able to fracture the student movement. At every turn, there stood the law, the courts, the police. However, the spirit of the student revolt continued, only slightly impaired. Large scale demonstrations now were out of the question but were replaced by well-timed commando raids. A joint squad from Tuskegee Institute, forty miles down the road from Montgomery, and Alabama State College visited, first, the downtown public library, then the municipal museum. The police were not called in either instance. Nervous librarians insisted that everyone who used the library had to have a "card." The Negro collegians were permitted to fill out applications that they were sure would never again see the light of day. At the museum, nobody interfered as the group spent half an hour looking at the art there.

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Three visits were made by small groups to the local branch of the University of Alabama. Again, the applications were received. Subsequently, technical and procedural grounds were cited for denying admission to the University. Of course, more would come later.

The law enforcing agencies announced that they were prepared to deal with a large-scale demonstration for May 17, the anniversary of the Supreme Court's school de-segregation decree. Since this date also marked the beginning of the Martin Luther King trial, the sheriff trotted out his mounted police to protect the courthouse from the expected rush of "agitators." None appeared, so once more, shamefacedly, the assembled forces slunk away and tried to avoid the cameraman.

The students, however, picked up the cue and called a meeting for that morning. They knew that the sleuths would be there in numbers. So by prearrangement, at exactly 11 o'clock, a spokesman announced that a visit would be paid to the lunchroom of the Capitol at exactly 11 o'clock. As soon as the Law heard this, there was a rush from the meeting to the squad cars and communication mikes. But it was too late. Two students had already infiltrated the Capitol cafeteria. They seated themselves for a while, then took trays and joined the line passing by the steam table, engaged the white women attendants in a polite dispute for service and finally, were not-too-brusquely ejected by the state house guards. The two college men were so unimpressed that they lingered in the first floor corridors for a time, inspecting the portraits that hung there of Alabama's outstanding politicians of the past. Afterwards, they said that they should have gone upstairs to the Governor's office and "sat in" until he agreed to talk with them.

And so on goes the game of tag.

•

THE EXPERIENCE at Alabama has shown that state power can break up a student campaign against Jim Crow. The cost in dollars and cents, the loss of respect for law, lawmakers and enforcers, however, will be great. Even so, the college people may yield externally to brute force but psychologically they do not submit to it. Jails, courts, police guns and badges have become symbols of a decayed social system now grown desperate and a bit absurd.

Since February 25, the students at Alabama State College have received an "education" that no course of study in the college could have supplied. They have come to look upon the society of which they are part with true sophistication. They know it now as never before. They see through the fabrications, insecurities, fears and social ignorance of its "rulers."

The young people have discovered sources of strength and courage within themselves. Whatever happens, they have won, for all of the guards in Alabama cannot make men believe in a system that they know is evil and corrupt. Not only do the students know this, but it would seem that the enemy himself is beginning to suspect it.

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2. "WE ARE NOT AFRAID"

Ellsworth Janifer

Sunday, March 6, 1960 dawned clear and cold in Montgomery, Alabama. It was like any other quiet Sunday morning, yet a feeling of unrest pierced the deceptive calm. Two days before, the Negro ministers of the city had scheduled a mass prayer meeting on the State Capitol grounds for 1:30 Sunday afternoon. The meeting was called to protest the expulsion of nine Alabama State College students who participated in a "sit-down" demonstration at the Montgomery County Court House on February 26. The Capitol grounds are state property, and the Negroes, of course, were well within their rights to stage an orderly meeting there. Moreover, there is nothing in the State Constitution or in city or county statutes to prevent this.

Yet the city police commissioner issued a statement on Saturday afternoon designed to intimidate the Negro community and to thwart the proposed meeting. "In view of the situation that exists in Montgomery," he warned, "if the Negroes persist in flaunting their arrogance and defiance at the Capitol Sunday the police will have no alternative but to take whatever action might be necessary to disperse them."

On Sunday morning, then, the city of Montgomery was anxiously waiting to see if the Negroes would assert their legal right and go on with the scheduled meeting.

During the morning, it became increasingly clear that the Negroes had no intention of calling off their meeting. Many ministers announced it from their pulpits and urged their congregations to attend in full force.

By 1:00, the Negroes began to congregate at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church just opposite the Capitol grounds. They came from all areas of the city. There were representatives from all social levels, income and age groups, though most were students and workers.

At the same time, however, groups of whites were also gathering on the Capitol grounds, forming a solid phalanx in front of it and along its adjoining approaches at Dexter Avenue and Decatur Street.

Interestingly enough, the police permitted the whites to congregate in spite of the police commissioner's grave warning.

Had the authorities really been interested in fair play, they would never have permitted large numbers of whites to gather in front of the Capitol and along Dexter Avenue and Decatur Street. The white gathering was, in fact, a counter-demonstration—and on the forbidden Capitol grounds at that.

In a sense, these white citizens had been subtly invited to violence by the demagoguery of such responsible men as the police commissioner and mayor of the city. Their statements regularly appeared in city newspapers and did more to incite riots than the various student demonstrations about the city. Yet, the blame for inciting public disorder was always placed on the Negroes.

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Paradoxically, on the Saturday afternoon before the prayer meeting, police permitted white demonstrators to gather at the capitol (under the watchful eye of the Governor) and later to drive through the down-town area with such signs as "Preserve Our Rights—Fire Your Negro," "Act Now —Fire Your Negro," and "Remember Our Rebel Forefathers." Even worse, just one week earlier bat-carrying white men freely patrolled Dexter Avenue in search of trouble. Despite the fact that one of them—a convicted arsonist—clubbed a Negro woman on the head, police saw fit to make no arrests.

The March 6 prayer meeting, then, was called to protest *peacefully* this one-sided justice as well as the expulsion of the Alabama State College student demonstrators.

Since the Capitol grounds were preempted by the whites, Negroes gathered at nearby Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, some five or six hundred strong. My friend Samuel Green and I were among the first to arrive.

At about one forty-five, the Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, entered almost casually, nodding and speaking to the congregation. The atmosphere was uneasy, but there were no overt signs of fear or panic, even though the white gathering outside had mushroomed to some 5,000 and had churned itself to a feverish pitch of excitement. This meant that the Negroes in the church, completely defenseless, were encircled by a howling mass of whites, shouting obscenities.

As Reverend Abernathy ascended the pulpit, the congregation spontaneously burst into their rallying chant:

We are not afraid, we are not afraid,
We are not afraid today.
For deep in my heart, I do believe,
We are not afraid today.

This simple song assumed a significance far greater than its musical worth. The singing gradually swelled, reaching an impassioned climax and soaring high up into the gabled ceiling of the church and out into the streets.

After the singing, Reverend Abernathy quietly began to brief the congregation on the procedure to be followed. He made it clear that the Negro adults of the community believed that the expulsion of nine Alabama State College students was illegal and unwarranted. Therefore, he continued, "we plan to make our protest known in a peaceful, non-violent meeting on the capitol grounds. We have examined the state law," he reported, "and find nothing in it that prevents our holding services there. Though we have been warned against this, we have informed the country and the world of our intentions, and *we must go.*" He warned that there would possibly be name-calling and perhaps even some violence by the whites. However, there were no plans to force through police lines or to pass through the white crowd. If repulsed, he advised, the procession would return to the steps of the church and the prayer meeting would be held there instead. He further stated, "anyone who wishes to respond with violence is not needed."

Closing his instructions, Reverend Abernathy advised that "Our hour has come to make a stand and for this, we must be willing to sacrifice everything—even life itself." "If anyone is afraid," he added, "remain in the church and we'll understand."

AFTER MORE REMARKS by Father Robert E. DuBose and the Reverend

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S. S. Seay, both of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the drama moved towards its climax. The solemn procession, led by the ministers, began to flow slowly down the center aisle of the church: Father DuBose immaculately attired in cassock and surplice, holding his Bible; Reverend Abernathy in a plain black robe, hands clasped and head high; two other ministers closely following; the entire congregation on its feet, facing the procession, each member nervously poised, waiting his turn to join the march.

As the advanced section of the column (the first twenty-five or thirty) left the church, the whites outside chanted such slogans as "Come on niggers, make your move," and "Alright niggers, come on." The procession, headed by Father DuBose, marched forward. It had only advanced a few paces from the church steps when Father DuBose was pushed back and almost knocked to the ground by police officers. The white crowd surged menacingly towards the Negroes. Fire trucks were then rushed between the Negroes and the white crowd, but curiously, fire hoses were aimed only at the Negroes. The advancing crowd was held at bay by police officers. The air was electric with tension and one minor incident could well have erupted into violence.

The Negroes, having backed up to the church steps, stood facing the angry crowd, intent upon making their protest.

After the procession was forcibly stopped, word was passed (according to plan) for those inside the church to remain there. But those of us inside could not see the action on the outside. We had no way of knowing whether or not our leaders had been set upon, or if the crowd was storming the beseiged church. Yet we could hear the deafening screams of the crowd and the voices of the policemen as they assured the whites that they had the situation well in hand and thanked them for their "patience and restraint!"

It was only natural, then, that the atmosphere inside the church was charged with fear and panic, and the situation there in grave danger of chaotic eruption. Some of the younger students wept in fear. Some persons fainted, and some shouted, patted their feet and clapped their hands in utter frustration. Some sang, some prayed, and many others sat in firm resolution.

Fortunately, several persons took control of the meeting and were able to persuade the excited congregation to be seated and to turn their attention back to the purpose of the day.

AN OLD FASHIONED prayer meeting then developed, complete with fiery testimonies, hymn singing, and impassioned praying. Bernard Lee, student protest leader, offered prayer for the Governor and for all our oppressors. It was deeply moving to hear some of the older members who had lived for years under the degrading yoke of segregation pray for the whites outside and fearlessly affirm their faith in freedom and justice—abstractions which many of them could never have known. How stimulating it was to hear the adults of the community make a stand in support of the young students who were fighting for what they sincerely believed to be basic freedom.

The entire meeting was gripped by a profound spiritual and communal force. The congregation as a whole was rarely silent. It supported the speakers by chanting "We are not

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afraid" and such hymns as "I Need Thee Every Hour." Occasionally, we heard the group outside bravely continuing their service. Snatches of *The Star Spangled Banner, America,* and *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* floated through the opened church doors. At various intervals, we could even hear the speakers' voices, firm and resolute. But most of this was drowned out by the churning and braying of the unruly crowd.

During a moment of silent prayer, eerie cat-calls, rebel yells, and police signals drifted in from the outside.

After about an hour of further prayers, testimonies, and hymn singing inside the church, a lady speaker informed us that Reverend Abernathy and the others had not been harmed and were continuing the service.

Father DuBose and Reverend Seay were the first to return to the church. A little later, Reverend Abernathy returned and was seemingly unshaken by what surely must have been one of the most shattering experiences of his life.

He told us that we had gone as far as we could and had proven our point. We had shown the world where we stood on the issue of segregation. Again, the congregation burst forth triumphantly into the rallying chant: "We are not afraid."

Tension and anxiety melted. Breathing came easier and smiles reappeared. The immediate ordeal was over.

3. STUDENTS AND FACULTY

William Gibson

The sit-in demonstrations begun by four A. and T. College freshmen in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, had greater effect on the students of Alabama State College than most of us realized. Students here, as in other colleges, began to discuss the reasons behind the demonstrations. To some the issues became very clear, because there was perhaps a greater compulsion to understanding in Montgomery than in other places. Feeling strongly a need to identify with the movement, a small group initiated action on the campus without outside aid. Their minds already made up, but believing that more experienced thinking than their own would be helpful, they sought the advice of Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, President of the Montgomery Improvement Association. After a discussion on possible targets, the students decided on the lunch room at the county court house.

Those students who were in on the plans from the beginning believed that they had a right to demonstrate against injustices. But it was not until the Governor demanded that the demonstrators be expelled that 85 per cent of the student body gave expression to the feeling that their fellow students had the same rights as anyone else in this country and to expel them for seeking to be served in a tax-supported place was a violation of elementary democracy. They also resented the Governor's treatment of the president of the college. It was for the above reasons that the students started going to meetings and taking

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part in the demonstrations, including marching on the State Capitol in a peaceful and orderly manner.

The student body falls into several classifications, according to their backgrounds and reactions. Some are from the larger cities in Alabama and others were born in Alabama but had been living in the North for several years. Both of these groups were forthright in stating their beliefs as to the rights of Negroes. Some students put a particular stress on the right to vote and to come and go freely. A third group would include those from smaller towns in Alabama who resented pressure exerted by white authorities. They believed that the students had a right to protest on campus, or off campus for that matter, without the Governor or the Board of Education interfering. Such students rejected the charge of impatience, answering that they realized full well that time will change things, but there was a need occasionally to help time along. A fourth group was composed of those who did not express their feelings so fluently in words, but did so in deeds, often acts of heroism.

The upper classmen took the lead at first and provided the movement with its early leadership. But then they began to fall into the background. The reason for this was simply that they had more to lose because some would soon be up for graduation. Freshmen and sophomores then moved in to take the place of the upper classmen. It was the lower classmen who formed the hard core group that continued the fight. The thirty-five students who were arrested for demonstrating on March 8 were, with a few exceptions, all freshmen and sophomores. However, of the nine students that were expelled—at the beginning of the protest movement—seven of them were upper classmen, though the leader of the group, Bernard Lee, was a sophomore.

Degrees of apprehension existed among the demonstrators at first. They realized that they might go to jail, get hurt or even killed; but they believed in what the group was doing. They were willing to go to jail or die, if this was necessary to help the cause of the Negro. Their desire was to remove some of the restrictions imposed upon them by segregation and to be able to function within American society as free citizens.

Many of them had to face tough decisions and arrive at answers as individuals. Some of them knew that they would lose their campus jobs, and some did. They knew that they were jeopardizing their chances of being hired as teachers when they graduated and that their families and relatives might be fired from their jobs or even harmed.

As a whole the parents of the students were not against what was being done. Some came to take their children home, but after listening to the students decided to let them stay. After a telephone call other parents volunteered that it was alright for their sons and daughters to participate. Only a few withdrew their young ones because they feared that harm might come to them.

Some of these parents may have been subjected to pressures by the whites in the little towns the students came from. In one place, the superintendent of schools called the principal of the Negro school where the mother of one of the "jailed" students worked and told the principal to tell the mother to talk to her daughter. The grandparents of one of the students in another small town received calls from several whites who said that

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they thought that the granddaughter "had better sense" than to be a part of the "goings on" at Alabama State College, and that the grandparents should talk to her. Another pressure came from whites who would call parents, pretending that the caller was in favor of what the students were doing, and wanted to congratulate them. This was obviously an attempt to get the parents or relatives to open up. It is necessary to know and understand this section of the country to appreciate fully the position of both young and old from the smaller communities. Many of our undergraduates came to college right off the plantation, where their parents or relatives still live. Even the Negro migrants in the towns, big or small, for the most part live under the shade of the "old plantation."

The faculty, too, would fall into several classifications. On the one hand, some attended school and have lived here practically all of their lives. Some have bought homes, reached the age where it would be difficult to start life anew some place else and are near retirement. On the other hand, a fair share of the faculty was born and educated elsewhere, and is relatively free of localisms. Similarly, there were those who did not say anything outwardly, but would not raise a hand against the students nor condemn them; while there were some who were violently opposed to the demonstrations, so much so that they stopped speaking to fellow faculty members whom they suspected of aiding or abetting the students and thus, as they put it, "causing trouble for the President." From the reactionary or conservative group pressure, openly and subtly, was applied to some students. In some instances this was done in the classes by instructors making such statements as, "You shouldn't be out there marching and holding meetings," "You are here to learn and I am here to teach," "You shouldn't be led astray by outsiders." Others singled out individual students who were taking an active part and tried to use their influence to get them to drop out of the movement. There were reports from students that some faculty members lowered grades of participants in the demonstration. In certain cases there is some truth in the reports; in others, the validity is doubtful. The conservatives were able to use some students as spies, who would attend meetings and report back what took place and what the demonstrators intended to do next.

Although no faculty member instigated the student protest, some endorsed the demonstrations once they got started. They believed that the students were within their rights to protest in an orderly manner. Here, too, were those who made no bones about where they stood, and did not attempt to hide their views. Those faculty members who were active in civic affairs were inclined to accept the protest of the students as a part of the overall struggle of the Negro.

More directly, this group of faculty members showed their positive support by words of encouragement when the spirits of the students sagged, or when the indirect squeeze of the administration was upon the student leaders. Finally, the thirty-five students who were arrested for demonstrating found stout defenders in the faculty. Nobody knows how many meals were furnished hungry students by their teachers.

According to the *Montgomery Advertiser* March 11, 1960 and the *Advertiser-Journal* of March 13, 1960, college officials were quoted as saying

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that the demonstrations were not planned by students here, but by outside "agitators" who were taking advantage of the students. If this be true, it is a sad commentary upon the intelligence of the students, the administration and the teaching faculty; to say that approximately 1800 students could be overwhelmed and led against their will by strangers!

In most of the other schools affected, the students were fortunate to have the support of the college community in some form or other. Officials of the colleges and the communities affected stated that the students were within their constitutional rights to demonstrate peacefully. Some stated that the young men and women were merely acting as citizens and the college could not deny them that right. Some college presidents emphasized that they were for the demonstrations in principle as long as they were orderly and not destructive. Here at Alabama State College it was otherwise.

As for the future of the student anti-segregation movement at Alabama State, there are those who are determined to continue the fight. And this in spite of the threats of jail and show of force by the authorities. Whether this determination will be carried out depends, of course, upon future developments. But, already it has been proved that the young Negro student here is not afraid and that he is not content with separate facilities even if occasionally they appear to be equal.

4. THE POLITICS OF THE NEW NEGRO

Michael Walzer

In our last issue we printed a report by Michael Walzer on the Southern Negro student movement, based on his trip to several colleges in North Carolina. The article won such favorable attention that we decided to send Mr. Walzer on a second and longer journey, during which he would visit a considerable number of Southern communities, talk with Negro leaders, ministers and students. His report, which follows, seems to us of the greatest political interest.—EDITORS

"The first act has come off very well, but who is going to write the second?" A local realtor addressed this question to the assembled "Central Committee" of the student movement in a large Southern city. The Negro businessman had been astonished, and only moderately gratified, by the sit-downs, the picketing, and the demonstrations which had taken place in a city he boasted of knowing so well and among a people he supposedly led. It was the end of May, after four months of activity, and he was meeting with the students for the first time. Sternly, though perhaps with a touch of embarrassment, he offered them "guidance" and warned them of "irresponsible leadership." Warning and offer were reiterated by other men at the same

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meeting—banker, insurance broker, lawyer, newspaper owner, head of the Negro YMCA—a gallery of notables who spoke, as they did not hesitate to inform the students, for 80 million dollars worth of capital. The "notables" were willing enough to write a script for the second act, but I felt they would have liked also to change the cast. Their advice, however, was coldly rejected by the student leaders. With a rather cruel politeness, the students refused to discuss their future plans.

It was an extraordinary confrontation, this meeting between community and student leaders, an encounter of generations, and also of classes. The sons of the men who sat on one side of the room went to college (most of them) in the North. The parents of the students who sat on the other side of the room were (largely) nurses, coal miners, teachers, post office employees, railroad porters. The student leaders themselves were the products of a vast expansion in Southern Negro college enrollment since the late forties—an expansion in which the schools obviously reached far beyond the limited middle class. Indeed, it is likely that more lower class Negro children go to college in the South than in the North. And these, in largest part, are the "new Negroes" who made the sit-downs possible.

As a result of increased enrollments, there have appeared on the campuses large numbers of aggressive young men, fiercely hungry for success, for material goods and even fame. Having already come far, and being by no means inexperienced, these young men are realistic and sometimes cynical in their judgments of people. They know what to expect from their fellow Negroes and what from the white man. But they are extraordinarily idealistic about *goods,* both moral and material. They seem equally ready for a success story and a morality play, and I have no doubt that the civil rights movement is an adventure in which something of both is involved. The students are willing to take risks in the name of both prosperity and virtue. To experiment freely with the two is indeed novel in Negro life; the approach of the older leaders to either one is likely to be more fearful and devious—and with reason. But the students have self-confidence enough for an open and deliberate joyfulness, and even for occasional bravado.

There is another aspect of campus life which the businessmen in the meeting room might have found easier to understand. It was revealed when a controversy broke out at a North Carolina college over whether the student newspaper should carry a page of pictures taken at the Spring Formal and showing the Queen and her Court, or whether the pictures should show picket lines and courtroom scenes of another sort. Fraternities and sororities, junior-senior proms, May Queens—these are the campus equivalents of the coming-out parties, the Elks' meetings and all the other paraphernalia of a separate but equal middle class (and upper middle class) life—all of it assiduously reported in *Ebony* and similar magazines, and all of it nervously self-conscious and very serious. In the past, college administrators have approved and even sponsored the participation of students in such activities—as if

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they were training them for a game of middle class charades. One feels that the successful businessmen would like to treat the students in a similar fashion.

I

But in the South today even the eager proto-bourgeois, even the cautious careerist (carrying on his back, most likely, a considerable burden of parental hopes) encounters obstacles in his upward progress which are not individually surmountable. He experiences segregation as a form of career closure, cutting many forms of work and money-making (and of creativity) out of the realm of possibility. The limited Negro middle class, itself the product and in many ways the bulwark of a segregated society, no longer provides opportunity, for the increasing number of talented, aggressive young men. Consequently, perhaps, the ceremonials of that class lose their absorbing interest. Its leaders lose their power to command. Student and parental ambitions alike push the young beyond imitation and careerism, and further than the businessmen, the "responsible" leaders, would have them go.

Many still escape to the North, which has traditionally robbed the Southern Negro community of its discontented and energetic young men. Some go into the permanent army, hoping to become officers and to live abroad. And a few still dream of Paris. But what the sudden appearance of large numbers of ready young men means, first of all, is that many more will decide to stay South. They will be reinforced in that desire by their very numbers, by daily relationships in which leaders are discovered and proposals made, and by all the things they learn to do. For the South is home, and given any sense at all of power or possibility, they will stay home and make it livable. That means inevitably that they will become interested in politics.

At this point they will encounter the politics of their elders, of the business and professional men in the meeting room. This is a politics of back-door dealing, tough-minded, unidealistic, and sometimes successful. It is a politics of accommodation, but also of shrewd bargaining. The men who engage in it are likely to develop a curiously "white" view of the Negro masses—that is, to view them as requiring just that paternal watchfulness and that cautious respectable representation which they themselves can provide. This makes them leaders, indeed, without any rank and file following, men who speak *for* the Negro community, but who rarely speak to it, men who simply assume that some massive vote of confidence has been awarded them. It should be said, however, that such men have done a great deal, and that in many and possibly most parts of the South even such a politics is impossible. There the Negro leadership is likely to consist of white appointees: these men run the Negro colleges, one minister told me, as if they were state concessions.

But wherever there exists a bloc (however small) of Negro votes and a sum (however moderate) of Negro capital, there will appear men,

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both black and white, to bargain. Then the Negro leaders—their power in the Negro community increased because of their acceptance by the whites, and their power with the whites increased because of the "control" they can presumably exercise over the Negroes—will deal for such favors as they can hope for or imagine: more money for the Negro high school, fair treatment in the petty courts, some new arrangement with the real estate board, the admission of a Negro to the police force, etc. All these represent real improvements in the conditions of life in a Southern town. And when the bloc of votes or the sum of capital becomes larger, requests will become demands and tough-minded men will drive a harder bargain. But the presupposition of all such bargaining is that the basic pattern of segregation will not be altered.

At the same time, the Negro business leaders and part-time politicians cautiously support the work of the NAACP and even push the cause of integration wherever—as in the case of the public library in Atlanta—it does not involve large numbers of people or bring any sort of social upheaval. Except where it is outlawed, the NAACP has a fairly large dues-paying membership in the South. But active, even functioning grass-roots organization is rare. Nor has there been any sustained and serious effort by the national office to develop local leaders. Equipped to win legal decisions, the Association seems unready—there are exceptions of course—to sponsor local action. And this obviously suits the needs and purposes of the established local leadership, which finds its yearly contribution to Legal Defense perfectly compatible with a hands off policy on school integration. *That* is not yet within the range of the backdoor dealing.

Now, to this limited kind of politics, students have no access, nor to the court battles as they are waged by the NAACP. They are not likely to be satisfied, at any rate, with anything short of personal encounter—something always eschewed by the older leaders. More than this, they do not know these leaders or the NAACP lawyers. Their own parents are hardly ever actively involved in politics. And they have inherited a considerable resentment toward the established middle class and its pretensions, a function of the distance the middle class has always insisted upon placing between itself and the mass of Negroes. The crucial fact is that the students, potentially middle class as they may be, do not identify themselves with the closely-knit bourgeois elite of the Southern Negro world—and especially not with its politics.

Driven to be political, eager to be active, the students find no way open into the existing but narrow political world. They find no pattern of sustained, methodical political activity into which they can enter. They find no leaders forthrightly committed to a direct, local struggle against segregation. An exception to this last statement might be made for the preachers. But the fact is that the students reached the church's meeting room and the pastor's study (less often the church proper) at about the same time as they reached the lunch counters, and for the same reasons.

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II

It is obvious that education, voting, housing and employment are the key areas in which segregation as a system of *apartheid* and organized inequality is most effective. But segregation is also, and at its most common level, a system of incidental insult. By common, I mean that level on which segregation is most frequently experienced by most people, on which it becomes a bodily habit, like walking to the back of a bus, and shapes a mental reflex: people who walk to the back of the bus must be inferior. It is this kind of daily degradation which makes all other kinds of segregation possible.

Incidental insult is the daily experience of the Negro masses, much less so of the middle classes. Businessmen, schoolteachers, lawyers, live and work almost entirely in the Negro world. They receive a deference from their fellows which they hardly ever need pay to the white man. They discover ways to avoid many, though by no means all, of the encounters in which insult is to be expected. But the people who work in the dozens of menial capacities—more numerous in the South than in the North—are drawn daily to the white business districts and the white suburbs. They ride the buses and search for a cheap place to eat downtown; they are in continual contact with white people, and usually with white peole who are giving orders.

So the students who marched downtown to the five and dime stores came into touch with the Negro masses, and challenged segregation precisely where it was most irritating to *them*. The counters and the streets were outside the political arena in which the older leaders operated. But the larger number by far of ordinary Negroes were also outside this political arena, not active citizens and not even represented. The students became their political surrogates and then their political instructors and finally (in some cases) their political colleagues. Inevitably, this process brought the students into close contact with the best of the preachers, who are the real leaders of the Negro masses. And it brought the students into the churches, which are the only free forums existing in the Negro community.

The lead which the students gave resulted in the appearance of new forms of political organization among adults. These new organizations are centered in the churches (usually the Baptist churches) and are led by the preachers. They appear to be modeled on the Montgomery Improvement Association and Birmingham's Christian Movement for Human Rights, both of which originated in the bus boycotts of 1955-56. The two Alabama groups have been holding weekly meetings ever since, for which anywhere from 500-1,000 people regularly turn out. There they participate in workshops studying political techniques, or listen to speeches and join in community singing. Each week a collection is taken. The program of the typical meeting is based on a church service—the form familiar even when the content is radically changed. Similar organizations—the Petersburg (Virginia) Improvement Association, the Raleigh (North Carolina) Citizens Association, etc.—

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have now sprung up throughout the South. Sometimes the NAACP is associated with the local movement as its legal wing or its "civil rights committee." But the Association does not form the nucleus for organization on a local level—I was told that this was chiefly because of its own centralized and inflexible structure. There will also be a "political action committee" (and, for example, in Petersburg, a *PAC Newsletter*). Often considerable numbers of adults will work directly with the students in picketing and in mass demonstrations. Out of such organizations, perhaps, will come parents willing to force their children's way into the white schools and eligible voters trained in the perversities of Southern law and determined to register. But short of such a break with the habits of segregation as the students have initiated, such persons will never appear in sufficient numbers to make any real difference in Southern life.

The membership of these grass-roots organizations is definitely lower class. Individual businessmen, lawyers and teachers are of course involved, and are often leaders. But the large body of the middle class has held aloof, in part because it feels threatened economically, in part because both the militancy and the religiosity of the mass movement is alien to its style. The schoolteachers, for example, make up the largest constituent element in the Southern Negro middle class. Apparently frightened by the possibility of school integration (they worry, probably with reason, that it will not be accompanied by the integration of teaching staffs), the teachers have not played an active role in the various local movements. Many of the sermons on self-sacrifice preached in Negro churches are aimed at them; King and Abernathy, who led the bus boycott, have been especially unrelenting: "Freedom . . . is worth suffering for; it is worth losing a job for; it is worth going to jail for. I would rather be a poor free man than a rich slave." Yet, among the members of King's former church—which is the most fashionable Baptist church in Montgomery—there are to be found few members of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

SINCE THE ADULT movement is lower class, it is also religious. This is, in fact, its greatest strength, not only because of the deep religious commitment of the Negro masses and the position of the church as a community center, but also because of the extremely high degree of lay participation—for example, in "testifying"—in the Negro Baptist church. There are probably few religions whose forms are so readily adaptable to mass politics. Baptist oratory has become especially important. This is partially because the Negro masses do little reading. Even more, it is because the Negroes control no media of mass communication (the tiny Southern Negro press has not supported the sit-downs) other than the church meeting. Oratory is thus the key form of communication within the movement. A political adaptation of the Southern Baptist sermon fills the gap left by the virtually complete

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absence of favorable news coverage and of simple and dramatic pamphlets. Hence the need for weekly meetings and the largely local, grass-roots nature of the movement. Its extent is determined, almost literally, by the size of the local churches and the range of the human voice. "What we need," a minister told me, "is a flood of tracts." He was undoubtedly right, but meanwhile things are kept moving, and people educated, through an exhausting succession of meetings. And the meetings are also religious rallies—or rather, political revivals—where the intellectual content of the speeches is wrapped in biblical imagery and presented in a language of overwhelming emotional force. It is the language of evangelism, except that at the end of the speeches men and women are asked to come forward—not to be saved—but to make a decision to picket or to sign up for a session in voter registration.

The mass character of the new civil rights movement is best revealed in this oratory, its phrases picked up and chanted by the audience. The absence of bureaucratic jargon (co-ordinate committees, implement decisions, etc.) points to its *ad hoc,* local organization; its vitality can be felt in the naturalistic imagery which the preachers always prefer to the mechanical metaphor or the political cliché. I don't mean, however, to suggest the all-sufficient nature of the oratory: if its emotional force is sometimes frightening, its intellectual content is often minor. Surely a written literature—and a literature of controversy—is needed, to discuss immediate purposes and methods and to elaborate a long-range ideology. This is especially true because there is a certain tendency in the local organizations to drift into a role as innocuous as their titles, that is, to become in fact civic and improvement associations. There is such a paucity of organization in the Negro community that irresolute leaders can often be persuaded to fill gaps other than the political—to help raise money for the local "Y," to work on traffic control, etc.

III

The students, for the most part, do not attend the weekly meetings in the churches. Embarrassing moments often follow suggestions that students present rise and be applauded. They turn out to have stayed on campus for a meeting of their own, or for a basketball game. The students generally are less religious than their parents, and even when religious they often have a distrust of Baptist preaching, an uneasiness with its emotional appeal and an aversion to the response it evokes. This is possibly overstated, for there are many very religious students and some at least who make quite specific connections between their religion and their politics. But it remains true that the key factor in the students' activity is the forward thrust of their new self-respect, their desire for equality—and their materialism. All these are summed up intellectually in what might be called a civil rights ideology, the basis of which in any individual student is more likely to be the Declaration of Independence than the Bible. Its goal is one of assimilation into American society and it would be blindness not

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to recognize this. The ministers who preach so fervently against materialism and talk so endlessly of the need for Christian education know it very well.

What the students have done, however, is to change the method of this ideology from legalism to mass action, and this has brought other changes in its train. Perhaps the stages in the developing consciousness of the Negro can be traced in the succession of methods employed to win entrance into American (white) society: from the humble labor urged by Booker T. Washington to the coming-out party, and then from legal and political pressure to the mass march. To arrive at the last of these is especially difficult, for if the law requires only individual skillfulness the march requires mass discipline. The Negro has found this discipline in the idea of non-violence. Of course, non-violence is as much a practical necessity as it is a theory; I was told often that "when one side has all the guns, then the other side is non-violent." And for most of the students the course which the demonstrations have taken is a matter of strategy and not ideals. On the other hand, the actual practice of non-violent direct action obviously gives rise to feelings which are not merely strategic. This too is a test for the young Negro, an occasion for heroism, but it is also, simply, an education.

The preachers and the theology students are the intellectuals of the Negro movement and its most frequent spokesmen. They have sought to connect the strategy of non-violence with Christian pacifism and love, and to train the students in both. In order to support mass action they have revived the social gospel; they aim, as one of the ministers told me, "to integrate the church and the world." This is a tremendously important shift in Negro religious thought, for the religion of generations of Negro adults has been otherworldly and resigned or otherworldly and ecstatic, but never practical and activist. Now the preachers of the movement feel themselves in competition with tent-meeting and store-front revivalism. And they are rivals too of middle class Protestantism. If I wanted to hear a "nice little sermon on redemption," Abernathy of Montgomery told me, I would have to go to a white church. And indeed the social gospel suggests something quite different from Christian redemption: "You can't save a man's soul," a preacher in Petersburg said, "until you save his body."

BUT THE PRECISE CONNECTION between the religious and the political movement is more difficult to assess. Probably for most people, and especially among the students, religion acts largely to reinforce the civil rights ideology and to add to it a certain pious intensity. I have no doubt that it is this added intensity, rather than the merely secular ideas, which makes it possible for young people to go to jail—though the goal of their activity remains civil and not religious: "We are willing to go to jail, be ridiculed, spat upon and even suffer physical violence to obtain First Class Citizenship." In the same way religious feeling

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acts to mobilize energy and to discipline it, making non-violence easier.

For many of the ministers, however, religion plays a much more creative role. The connection of non-violence to Christian love produces, for them, an ideology *as important* as that of integration and equality. They believe that the methods of the current struggle will determine the nature of the future society; they look forward to an order not based on secular equality but on religious fraternity. More than this, they are willing to push the idea of non-violence very near to that of pacifism and to discuss international as well as interracial tension. Martin Luther King has even suggested that it is the mission of the Negro to teach non-violence to the world:

> It may even be possible for the Negro, through adherence to non-violence, so to challenge the nations of the world that they will seriously seek an alternative to war and destruction. In a day when sputniks and explorers dash through outer space . . . nobody can win a war. Today the choice is no longer between violence and non-violence. It is between non-violence and non-existence. The Negro may be God's appeal to this age. . . .

But such ideas are not common among the students and most of the preachers of the social gospel are content to apply it in a more limited fashion. The most fervent, the most capable, possibly the most radical of the leaders believe in the larger (religious) meaning of the Negro struggle, but even they will admit the essentially bread-and-butter demands of their followers. And it is the latter which are strengthened by the daily presentation, through the mass media, of the American Dream. The vision of the preachers is different; it is intimately known, perhaps, to many of the adult members of the Baptist churches, but it is alien to most modern students. The new mass character of the movement strengthens the hand of its Christian theorists; it is significant that the Student Co-ordinating Committee recently adopted a statement of purpose which is in line with King's theology. The students still in jail are symbols of the force of this theology; they will be the future heroes of the movement. Of course, there are other motives involved even in this heroism—motives which may well be secular and personal. I would guess that they are related to the pride and self-affirmation of the young Negroes.

The effort to give some focus to a secular ideology by basing it on the writings of Gandhi and Thoreau seems to me largely artificial. Such men may provide needed intellectual or moral support, but their ideas are not a creative force in the South today. What is novel and creative is the appearance in Negro religion and the social gospel and of a political ideology based on non-violence and love. What is creative, again, is the students' commitment to direct mass action, their disenchantment with legalism. There is no reason to deplore the fact that a certain tension exists between these two, between Christian pacifisms and the civil rights ideology. Tension of this sort has often been historically fruitful. At any rate, it is the inevitable result of the coming together of the students and the Negro masses.

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The following article is a condensed version of a study issued by the NAACP. Mr. Hill, who is National Labor Secretary of the NAACP, based his report on on-the-spot observations—following labor caravans from Homestead, Florida all the way up the Atlantic heaboard—as well as research into every available source. We wish to thank Mr. Hill for permission to use his material, and the accompanying pictures, on this shamefully neglected public issue.—EDITORS

MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL LABOR—THE STORY OF A NATIONAL CRISIS

Herbert Hill

Mid-Twentieth Century America is an amazingly prosperous land—indeed, the wealthiest nation in the world. Yet in the midst of great plenty are two million people comparable in their destitution to feudal serfs, save that they are bound to no land. Their mobility is in many ways their tragedy. For these people must roam ceaselessly often having no single place to call home. In their wanderings over the face of our country, these nomads hope mainly to stave off starvation. But their hopes also dwell on a decent home, good schooling for their children, a pleasant journey from one work place to another, as do the hopes of most citizens. Dare they hope for these things, when they must live in abandoned farm houses, shacks, chicken coops, tents, or dilapidated barns, when their children often receive no education at all and must work long hours if the family is to survive?

Who are these people who are so poor and so desperate? They are the migratory farm workers, and the conditions under which they live and work do not belong in any enlightened nation. Of the estimated some two million, over one-third are native-born Americans, the majority Negroes. Another one-third are citizens of foreign nations who are brought here to work and then return to their own countries. The remainder are Mexicans who enter the United States illegally to engage in farm labor; these are known as "wetbacks," since they literally wade or swim across the Rio Grande River to enter the United States.

MIGRATORY LABOR is today employed principally in the harvesting and processing of a great variety of fruits, such as berries, melons, apples, oranges and other citrus products, most vegetables including potatoes, beans, lettuce, celery, tomatoes and sugar beets; is frequently used for picking cotton, but is seldom employed on dairy farms, livestock farms, poultry farms, or diversified general farms.

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The President's Commission on Migratory Labor which was established by executive order in 1950, conducted what is perhaps the most exhaustive and significant study ever made of this national problem. It submitted a historic report to the White House on March 26, 1951 with many recommendations and proposals which have been almost completely ignored by Federal agencies and the state governments up to the present time. The Commission's analysis and conclusions, for the most part, remain completely valid today.

Since the turn of the century, agriculture in the United States has undergone tremendous changes, as has the status of farm labor. The current development is toward huge "corporation" farms, in contrast to the family farms of a half-century ago. Large farms now cover one-third of the land in the United States as a whole and two-thirds of the land in the western states; a large farm is classified by the census as five thousand or more acres in the West, and one thousand or more acres in the remainder of the country.

Agriculture is rapidly becoming "a factory in the field." In California, citrus fruit is a billion dollar industry, employing a half million wage earners, selling $3 billion worth of products and paying over $500 million in wages. In its packing plants are 130,000 men and women, working on highly mechanized, and in many instances, automated equipment. Even the 400,000 field hands increasingly work with machinery. In lettuce and asparagus harvesting, conveyor belts are used for assembling and packing. The firms that own land include some of the nation's biggest industrial corporations. Standard Oil and Southern Pacific Railroad together own 123,492 acres. The Kern Land Company owns 231,000 acres. In San Joaquin Valley alone thirty corporations own more than 5,000 acres each.

In the past decade the system of cotton land tenancy in the South has greatly diminished. With the virtual collapse of "King Cotton" in the five southeastern states, which in the past supplied a major part of cotton for the United States and the world cotton market, thousands of sharecroppers and agricultural day workers were dispossessed from the land; these people have been uprooted from their homes and work and now they swell the migratory labor stream especially along the Atlantic Seaboard where the majority of these workers are Negroes.

DESPITE THE DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS under which they are forced to live, the uncertainty of work, and the lack of any normal relationship with an employer and with society, migratory farm workers are productive workers and are absolutely vital to the agricultural economy of many states and the entire nation.

There are now six major streams of migratory farm workers in the United States:

1. Migrants, most of whom are Negroes, who start in Florida and move north along the Atlantic Seaboard through Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia into Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania,

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working in a wide variety of harvesting and food processing operations.

2. Migrants, almost all of whom are Mexican-Americans, who start in Texas and go into the North Central and Mountain states, working mainly in the sugar-beet harvest and also picking vegetables and fruits.

3. Migrants, most of whom are of Mexican descent, who start in Texas and go north to Montana and North Dakota, working in the wheat and small-grain harvests.

4. Migrants, most of whom are Mexican-Americans and Negroes, who start in Texas and then divide into two groups, with one group moving to the Mississippi delta and the other group moving westward to New Mexico, Arizona and southern California, working in cotton.

5. Migrants, usually whites of early American stock, who start in Oklahoma, Arkansas and western Tennessee, and move north and west, working in fruit and tomatoes.

6. Migrants, of all backgrounds, who work up and down the Pacific Coast, harvesting and processing various fruits and vegetables.

Would these migratory workers be better off were they able to find farm work in one locality and stay there? The President's Commission on Migratory Labor thought not. It stated:

> In summing up this comparison of employment and earnings for migratory and non-migratory workers, the similarities are more obvious than the differences. Both are underemployed. In both cases, women and youth are drawn extensively into employment. . . . Earnings per day are below prevailing standards. . . . This analysis of the employment and earnings of migratory and non-migratory farm labor suggests that for the migrant to settle down as a non-migratory farm laborer will not help him much financially.[1]

Statistically, about half the migrant workers are women—most of them mothers. The President's Commission found that in the migratory labor force there are as many males fourteen years through seventeen years as there are eighteen years through twenty-four years; altogether, there are as many males under eighteen years as there are forty-five years and older.

Governmental Neglect

As is evident, American Government has neglected the migratory farm labor problem at all levels: Federal, state and county. The United States Farm Placement Service shrugs off responsibility for the working and living conditions of migrant laborers although placing these workers in harvesting and food processing jobs at the request of employers. The Farm Placement Service also uses labor contractors and crew leaders in its recruiting activities, despite the record of these notorious middlemen, and generally appears mainly interested in meeting the labor demands of growers, no matter what the effect may be on the workers. Other branches of the Federal Government are responsible for the foreign contract labor system, and for the poor enforcement of immigration laws which enables thousands of Mexicans—"wetbacks"—to enter the United States illegally.

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With the exception of three states migratory agricultural workers are not covered by workmen's compensation laws. This exclusion is significant because farming has the third highest fatality rate of any industry in the United States, exceeded only by mining and construction.

Farm labor is totally excluded from Federal minimum wage and maximum hours legislation. U.S. Department of Labor statistics indicate that the average farm worker's hourly pay is sixty-eight cents, as compared to $2.79 an hour for the construction industry or even $1.05 an hour for laundry workers who are among the lowest paid of all non-agricultural occupational groups in the United States. Farm workers are now supposed to receive certain benefits of the Social Security system. But most employers throughout the country simply ignore the law.

Investigations made by the NAACP along the Atlantic Seaboard and on the West Coast have repeatedly disclosed the widespread illegal employment of children for farm labor. It is all too evident that Federal and state child labor laws are inadequately enforced. Farm labor is excluded from all benefits of unemployment insurance coverage, as well as most other protective and labor legislation.

The annual average wage of all farm workers in the United States in 1957 was $892 earned on jobs on and off the farm. The annual wage was $728 for farm work alone. Farm workers were employed an average of 125 days on agricultural labor and 19 days in other types of employment. In terms of real wages their pay was $4.91 per day.

Of the two million migratory workers employed in agriculture, 700,000 worked 150 days or more for the same employer. Over 1,200,000 workers were employed on the larger farms, many of them controlled by powerful corporate interests. Migratory farm labor is so essential to the nation's farming and food processing industry that in addition to recruiting migratory labor in the South and Southwest, through state employment services and private labor contractors, the Federal Government enters into contractual labor agreement with Mexico, the British West Indies, Japan and the Philippines and Puerto Rico.

A member of Congress from a southwestern state described the contract labor system as follows: *"100 years ago we owned slaves—today we just lease them."*

Municipalities generally are indifferent to the condition of migrant labor camps in their areas, usually choosing to do nothing. Often local residents show a distinct animosity toward Negro farm laborers whenever such workers appear on the village streets. On too many occasions local police have made these workers the victims of police brutality. Illegal search and seizure, detention by police for long periods without arraignment and other violations of due process are often experienced by migratory farm workers throughout the United States.

The NAACP in cooperation with a small number of other groups has been instrumental in securing the passage of remedial state legislation but often even these limited laws are inadequately enforced. Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, all heavy users of migratory

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farm labor, have recently enacted regulatory statutes. Typical is New York State which now has a substantial body of law relating to the use of migratory farm labor in that State. Among the most important of these statutes are:

1. Licensing of labor contractors.
2. A requirement to maintain payroll records and to issue a wage statement indicating monies earned and deductions from wages.
3. Certification of migrant labor camps by the State Health Department.
4. Prohibition of child labor during the non-school period.
5. Licensing of camp commissaries.
6. Revocation of growers' registration, authorizing the Industrial Commissioner to prohibit the use of migratory farm labor by a farmer or labor contractor who misrepresents conditions of employment.

The Journey to the Job

For most Americans, reaching one's job by a reasonably convenient means of transportation is no problem. For the migratory farm worker, reaching his job may be agony. When he arrives at his destination, he may be so ill from the hardships of the journey that he cannot stand, but has to be carried from the vehicle. This is because migrant workers are hauled long distances in trucks—not through their free choice, but because very often their employer's labor contractor requires such haulage as a condition of employment.

A New York newspaper reporter in 1953, made this observation:

> In the early days of the summer you can stand along the edge of the main highways leading North out of Florida and Georgia and watch the migrant workers on their way to northern fields, packed like animals on the way to market.
>
> Crowded in trucks equipped with crude benches or orange crates for seats, men, women and children roll through the Carolinas and Virginia, sharing their common misery and exhaustion. Sometimes they stop for a hamburger and a Coke. Mostly they just keep rolling along.
>
> The Federal government has established rules for the shipment of cattle. Every so many miles they must be taken from the trucks, allowed to stretch their muscles, drink and eat. If it's hot weather, they must be hosed down with water.
>
> Migrant workers have no such protection. They just keep rolling along.[2]

Some of the migrants have told of their experience. These were hauled from Texas to Minnesota.

> "It rained on us, and we stayed wet for two days."
>
> "We had to travel sitting on a board for three days and nights. I had the baby on my lap the whole way."
>
> "The same driver drove all the way from Texas with no one to spell him. I can't see why he didn't fall asleep and kill us all."
>
> "They treat cattle better. My back aches when I think of it."
>
> "My name is Manuel Martinez. I was one of forty-two people on that truck—me and my wife and three children. The women and children took turns sitting on the planks on each side. The first night, Chuck the Boss drove right through with no stop. I banged on the cab and begged him to stop for

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Photographs by George Moffett.

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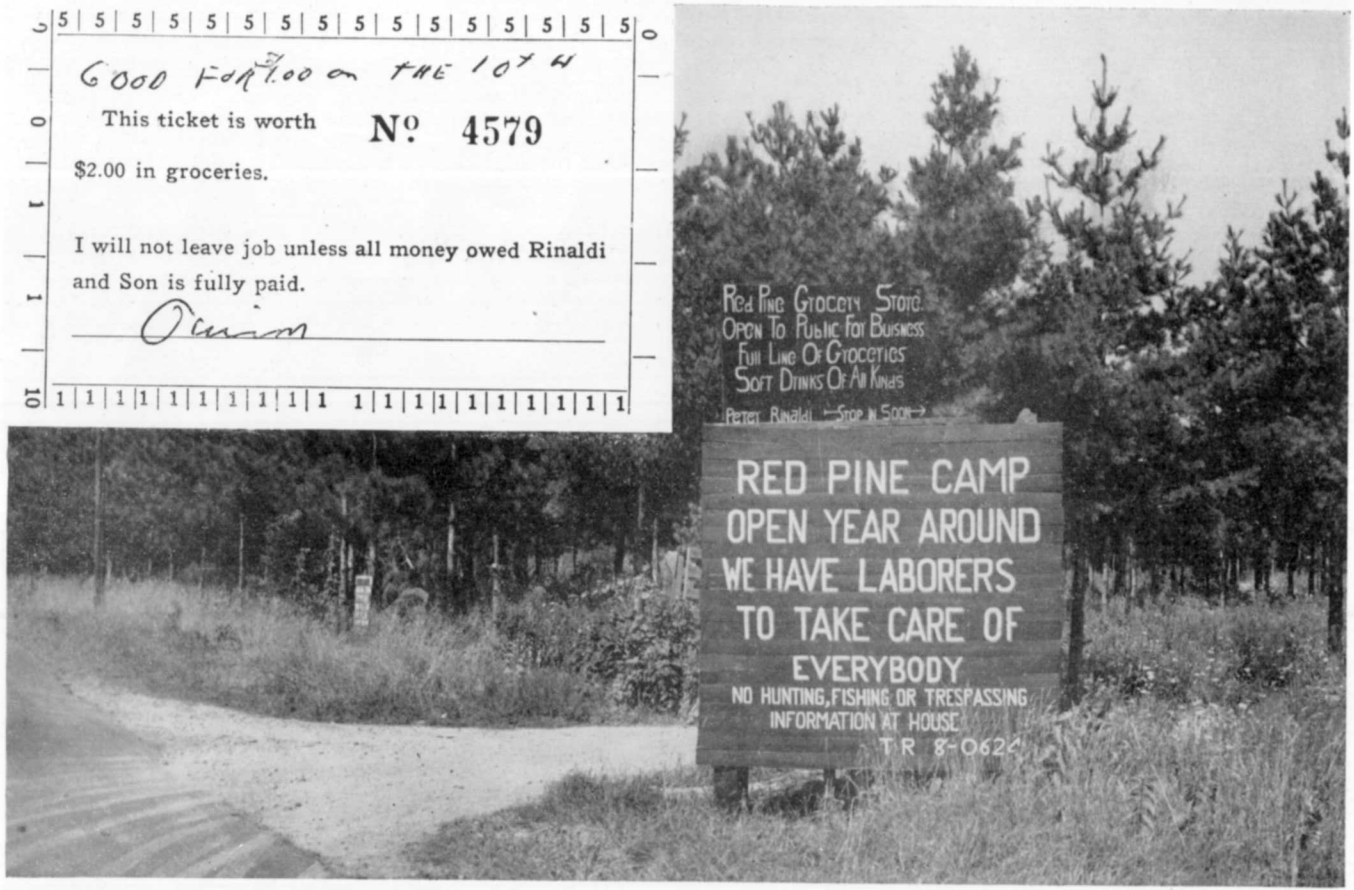
Good for 1.00 on the 10th
This ticket is worth
No 4579
$2.00 in groceries.
I will not leave job unless all money owed Rinaldi and Son is fully paid.
Red Pine Grocery Store
Open To Public For Business
Full Line Of Groceries
Soft Drinks Of All Kinds
Peter Rinaldi —Stop In Soon—
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the sake of the kids. He yelled, 'Sit down—how are we going to get the beets if we don't get a move on.' "

"When the truck finally reached Minnesota . . . only a few could jump out without help. . . . Some were sick and fell to the ground."[3]

Trucks used to transport migrant farm workers generally are ancient and unsafe, without any real seats and very much overcrowded. Entire families, including infants and small children, are hauled in this manner for days and nights, with few rest stops or provisions for eating. On many such trips, no rest stops are made for thirty-six hours or more. Numerous accidents have happened which would not have occurred had the truck been in proper mechanical repair. Breakdowns due to mechanical failure can lead to even further misery.

Many food growers have made strenuous efforts to try to block any improvements in the transport of migrants. In May, 1957, the Interstate Commerce Commission held a hearing to consider establishing safety regulations governing the interstate transportation of farm workers. At the hearing, the Tri-State Packers Association, Inc., of Easton, Maryland, expressed its dislike of a proposal that trucks carrying farm workers be required to have seats. The Packers Association maintained:

> The floors of the truck in which the persons are transported are normally covered with bedding or sacks of clothing which provide a more suitable resting place than would seats of the type suggested by the Commission. The requirement that seats be provided appears to be extremely undesirable. . . . In addition, these trucks are used to haul produce to the processor; it would be practically impossible to attach the seats securely and still use the vehicle to haul produce.[4]

Journey's End—The Dwelling Place

Migrant labor camps, where workers are housed while employed, generally consist of every type of structure imaginable, except decent housing. Migratory workers have been found living in dilapidated barns, chicken coops, old school buses, tents, shanties, tar-paper shacks, barracks, machine storage sheds, and pigpens. Fifteen to twenty persons may share a tiny cabin or a small room; frequently there are no windows, no heat, and no indoor cooking facilities.

Investigations have uncovered camps in which the entire sanitary facilities consist of one outside privy with no door; no running water, no electricity, no beds or old springs with no mattresses, badly leaking roofs, no screening, no refrigeration and on one occasion outdoor privies draining toward a water pump. Many camps have no facilities for the removal of garbage, so that filth is strewn around the area.

But such facilities are not given *gratis;* the workers must pay for this "housing." Therefore, a sum for "room rent" is inevitably deducted from each worker's paycheck. Frequently, migratory workers must live in this employer-owned housing as a condition of employment. If such is not the case, migrants often do not have the money to move elsewhere—even were decent housing available within walking distance.

A California newspaper described the conditions in some of that State's migrant camps in these words:

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> Longest slum in the world . . . village conditions in Pakistan no worse than some of the California camps . . . migratory families living under conditions similar to refugees in Seoul (Korea).[5]

In New Jersey, at a meeting described by Newark newspapers as the "rowdiest public hearing in years," four hundred farm owners loudly booed the suggestion that they provide blankets, warm water and electricity for their hired farm workers.[6]

A New York reporter wrote of the migrant labor camps he inspected as follows:

> [The trucks] leave the main roads and bump along over dirt roads until they reach a group of cabins in rows or flimsy barracks or remodeled barns or shanties. Seldom are the labor camps for migrants out on the traveled highways.
>
> It's better to keep them out of sight. A man's conscience won't hurt him so much if he doesn't see these hovels where fellow Americans must live for twelve or fourteen weeks. . . .
>
> In the yard outside are great stacks of rusty bed springs or rickety iron cots. It's first come first served, so the workers scramble to pick the best ones.
>
> Beside the bed springs are bales of straw, and each worker fills a ticking cover with enough straw to give his body ease after nine and ten hours in the fields harvesting what they call "stoop crops."
>
> The picture differs a little here and there. In some camps there are cinder block cubicles instead of shanties. In others there are mattresses, torn, dirty, and as comfortable as a rock pile to sleep on. But all are alike in absence of running water in the cabins, in reliance on old-fashioned outdoor privies and in their general atmosphere of down-at-the-heels drabness.
>
> These quarters are provided by the farmer, the grower, or the farmer's cooperative association. But that is about the limit of his interest in most cases.[7]

Several investigations and studies have made clear that the United States Government assumes no responsibility regarding the conditions of work—including housing—for which it is recruiting, either at the Federal or the state level. The following testimony was given before a Federal Commission of Inquiry by the State Supervisor of the Farm Placement Service in Florida:

Question: You say the employment service tries to make sure that there is housing for these people? How do you make sure that there is housing? What do you do?

Answer: That varies greatly. Where it is possible, we inspect. . . .

Question: Of course, you would have no authority if you found . . . any housing . . . to tell the grower, "You have got to fix this up so and so, and put these beds in," and so forth. Would you have such authority?

Answer: No, sir; none whatever. . . .

Question: . . . Could you not refuse to refer workers to that farm if, in your opinion, the housing was in bad shape?

Answer: That is right.

Question: Do you do that?

Answer: Yes.

Question: Do you have a standard of housing written up in some way on the basis of which you do that?

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Answer: No; no, sir. In other words, it must be a question of at least *reasonable protection against the weather. That* is about as far as we can go. [8]

And Then—Payday

Payday is just another frustration in the lives of most migratory farm workers. NAACP investigations have revealed that a common practice in many labor camps is to inform farm laborers after several weeks of work that they have earned no money or even that they are in debt because of deductions for food purchased in camp commissaries and for "room rent" and transportation. Under this guise, wages simply are withheld. If migrant families then attempt to leave the camp, they are warned that they cannot depart because of their "debts." Open intimidation and even threats of violence are commonplace to prevent the worker and his family from leaving the camp.

An investigation by the NAACP labor secretary in 1958 revealed that the majority of the workers at the Frank Swierczynski labor camp on Route 104, Orleans County, New York, received only one or two dollars at the end of each week's work. Those who complained were informed that amounts had been deducted for transportation, "room rent," food, debts, and unspecified expenses. These workers did not receive payroll statements as required by New York State law, indicating monies earned for a given period and itemized deductions, nor had they been told that deductions would be made for transportation, living quarters, food, and so forth.

Migrant workers' wages often are piece rates based on such units as hampers or boxes, or else on such units as acres or thousands of plants. Sometimes, wages are paid by the hour rather than by the piece. It is not at all uncommon for wages to be changed at the whim of the employer. That is, when conditions are favorable for a higher yield, the piece rate may be lowered.

The farmers, large growers and the food processing and packing corporations are responsible for these pitiful wage rates and working conditions, and they have repeatedly indicated their determination that there shall be no minimum wage legislation for agricultural workers.

During the 1947-57 inflationary period, farm workers' wages remained consistently low while the factory workers' wages rose sharply. Specifically, farm workers' average annual wages rose only about $150, while the average yearly earnings of factory workers reached approximately $2,000. In 1958, the average annual earnings for all farm labor was estimated to be $892.

Union Organization

These migratory men and women—and children—who labor in the fields have absolutely no voice in the conditions of their employment. The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations has neglected the nation's agricultural workers, especially the migrants, although these people more than any other group of workers are urgently in need of union protection and benefits.

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Not only has it neglected farm workers, but the American Federation of Labor has in at least one instance actually delivered them to their exploiters. This astonishing incident occurred in Louisiana in 1956. Incredibly, the Louisiana State AFL Labor Council openly supported Act 397 in the state legislature; Act 397 was a "right-to-work" law banning the "union shop" thereby making union organization extremely difficult if not impossible. But Act 397 applied only to agricultural labor, such as sugar-mill and processing workers, cotton-gin and compress employees, and those employed in rice-mill and related processing occupations. In return for its support of Act 397, the Louisiana State AFL Labor Council was awarded the repeal of a more inclusive "right-to-work" law also covering industrial workers which had been enacted in 1954.

So outrageous was this betrayal of agricultural workers in Louisiana, that two representatives of the small National Agricultural Workers Union (an AFL-CIO affiliate) appeared at a quarterly meeting of the AFL-CIO national executive council at Unity House, the summer resort of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in Pennsylvania, to protest this shameful "deal." H. L. Mitchell, president of the union and Dr. Ernesto Galarza, the union's secretary-treasurer, met with the AFL-CIO executive council in August, 1956. AFL-CIO President George Meany appointed a two-man subcommittee to hear the charges and to hear also the Louisiana Labor Council's defense of its behavior. The subcommittee was composed of Joe Curran, president, National Maritime Union, and Richard Walsh, president of the International Alliance of Theatrical, Stage Employees Union. *The verdict: a recommendation that the AFL-CIO approve the action of the Louisiana State Labor Council. This approval was voted unanimously. Following the board meeting, President Meany described the Louisiana action as "economic expediency."*[9] *It is of course interesting to note that the victims of this "economic expediency" were mostly Negroes.*

The two collective bargaining agreements encountered by the President's Commission existed between a local of the Meat and Cannery Workers (affiliated to Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO) and Seabrook Farms—a large grower-processor in New Jersey, and a local of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, AFL-CIO and Fellsmere Sugar Producers Association—a cane-sugar producing and processing association in Florida.

Agricultural workers in the United States are lagging far behind those in Europe from the standpoint of unionization. In Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, one-half to four-fifths of the agricultural workers are members of trade unions, while in West Germany and Austria organizations of land workers have been revived.

No Help For the Sick

The health of migratory farm workers undoubtedly is the most seriously impaired of any group of people in the nation. Many

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migratory children suffer from chronic diarrhea, due to fatigue and infection. The lack of sanitary facilities in migrant labor camps presents a constant menace of an epidemic.

Migrants generally have no way of getting from the labor camp to a doctor or a hospital and, even if they were taken for medical care, they ordinarily could not pay for it. Because of residence requirements, migrants generally are not considered eligible for medical care through public welfare benefits.

On February 5, 1959, Dr. Hector Garcia, chairman of the American G. I. Forum, Corpus Christi, Texas, told the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor about the health and medical problems of farm workers and their families. Dr. Garcia stated:

> The children of migrant parents are born into a world completely of their own. An anemic mother, and possibly a tubercular father—a life that will take him into his world where he may possibly die within one year, either from diarrhea, tuberculosis or malnutrition. His infancy would be a very close association with his brothers and sisters. Their home would be [a] one- or two-room shack, with no inside running water and no flushing-toilet facilities. If he lives to be of school age, he could possibly go to many schools on different occasions at different places, but will never average more than three years of schooling in his life time. . . . His future life will be one of wandering, poverty and more sickness. . . .
>
> As a migrant, his world will be from the Atlantic to the Pacific—from the Great Lakes to the Rio Grande. It will be his world, however, only in that the only piece of property that he will own will be his grave. . . .
>
> I may be here because I am still haunted by that remembrance of a day ten years ago when the little boy came to my office to ask me to go and see his mother who was sick. I went to his home—a one-room shack. I found a dead mother with six children lying in the same bed, all covered with blood from the hemorrhage of a dying tubercular mother.

The President's Commission on Migratory Labor found that tuberculosis, infant mortality, maternal mortality, dysentery, enteritis, smallpox, typhoid, are all "much more prevalent among migratory workers than among the general population."

It is important to note that the diet of migratory farm laborers is not sufficient to maintain health. A physician testifying before the Commission stated:

> *I can say from the reports of the nurses that we do have dietary deficiency diseases—due to a diet consisting of corn meal and perhaps rice and very little else.* There is also evidence of . . . ordinary starvation among many of these people. . . . *A survey which I made and photographed in the Mathis, Texas, labor camps showed that ninety-six per cent of the children in that camp had not consumed any milk whatsoever in the last six months. It also showed that eight out of ten adults had not eaten any meat in the last six months. . . .*

A few states have made some limited effort to provide medical care for the destitute migrant farm workers, but the situation still is generally wretched. The states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York each conduct a number of medical clinics, and some farm syndicates have begun to maintain clinics, but these are isolated and inadequate.

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Social Security and Child Labor Laws

Although it is clear that migratory agricultural workers are more in need of the protection and benefits of welfare laws and labor legislation than any other group in our population, these workers are systematically excluded from state and Federal welfare legislation—with the exception now of Federal Social Security.

Under 1957 amendments to the Federal Social Security Law, a person employed on a farm or working in other types of agricultural enterprise earns social security credit for his work from each farm operator who pays him $150 or more in cash wages in a year. The amendments also provide that if an employee does farm work for an employer on twenty or more days during a year for cash pay figured on a time basis, such pay is covered by the Social Security Law.

However, at the conclusion of an extensive investigation during the summer of 1958 along the Atlantic Seaboard, the author reported to the Social Security Administration that actual coverage for migrant farm labor was "negligible."

Why should farm workers be excluded from those specific welfare laws that they especially need? The reason is that most state legislatures are dominated by powerful agricultural interests, and these same interests have a very strong influence in Congress. The pitifully few laws which have been passed for the protection of farm workers are violated constantly by farm employers who are penalized very lightly or not at all when such violations are exposed.

Because of the grinding poverty in which migrant families are forced to live, mothers and children very often work in the fields along with the man of the family—to earn enough for survival. In 1956, for example, Federal investigators who inspected only a fraction of the nation's farms found some 4,200 children less than sixteen years of age working when they should have been in school.

Two Federal laws control the employment of children in agriculture. The Fair Labor Standards Act establishes a sixteen-year minimum age for agricultural employment *during* school hours. The Sugar Act specifies that producers are not to obtain maximum benefits if they employ children under fourteen years, or permit those of fourteen and fifteen years to work more than eight hours a day; this Act applies to the cultivation and harvesting of sugar beets or sugar cane.

Only six states and the District of Columbia expressly provide a minimum age for the employment of children in agriculture during non-school hours; this age varies from ten years in Utah to fourteen years in several other states. For agricultural work during school hours, a minimum age expressly applies in thirteen states and the District of Columbia; this age varies from fourteen to sixteen years.

A study made by the Bureau of Labor Standards of the Department of Labor notes that:

> Compulsory school-attendance laws supplement the standards set under the child-labor laws by requiring boys and girls to attend school to a certain age,

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usually to sixteen. In many states, however, these laws permit children under sixteen, or even under fourteen, to be excused from school to work in agriculture.

The situation as it relates to migratory children is even more serious, since the school laws often do not apply to them, and traveling from state to state as they do, opportunities for school attendance are often very meagre.

NAACP investigations have shown that child-labor laws simply are not enforced in respect to the children of migratory farm workers; it is common to find children of seven, eight, nine and ten years working in the fields, especially along the Atlantic Seaboard during the height of the harvesting season.

An eight-year-old migrant boy, who was taught to read and write at a special school for migrant children, told some of his experiences in this little essay:

Get down on your knees. Then start picking beans. When you get two hampers full then you weigh them. After you weigh them you put them on the truck. But before you put the beans on the truck you must put them in a sack. You must pick beans all day. You go home when the man tells you.[10]

Because they often are working when they should be in school, migrant children have the lowest educational attainment of any group in the nation, according to the United States Office of Education, which has said of migratory children:

They enter school later than other children, attend fewer days, make the least progress, drop out of school sooner and constitute the largest single source of illiterates. . . . Every year at least 600,000 [migrant] children are being denied the privileges of a public school education.

When these unschooled children become adults, they will not be equipped to do work which is any more satisfying or financially secure than that in which their parents are trapped. This is one of the most tragic aspects of the entire problem of migratory farm labor.

The Crew Leader: A Key Figure

The labor contractor or crew leader may well be the most vicious figure in the entire system of migratory farm labor. He is responsible to no one, and his practices too frequently are utterly unscrupulous. Along the Atlantic Seaboard he usually is a trafficker in human misery for profit.

It is the labor contractor or crew leader who arranges for the worker and his family to be hauled in trucks under inhuman conditions, who deducts exorbitant amounts from the earnings of workers or withholds their wages altogether, who attempts to prevent dissatisfied workers from leaving the labor camp under his control and is often engaged in various rackets including prostitution and the sale of liquor. The farmer or grower almost always refuses to take responsibility for the conditions pertaining to his workers although the grower who thinks of himself as a respectable, law-abiding citizen directly benefits from the crew leader's control and discipline of the work force.

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NAACP investigations during 1958 have shown that at several labor camps in New York State where state labor and health standards are enforced, the services of the crew leader or labor contractor have been dispensed with entirely; these investigations found that workers were employed directly by the operating companies at the Birdseye Corporation camp, the Quaker Maid Company camp, and the Russo Brothers Muck Farm.

A New York newspaper reporter described succinctly the workings of the vicious labor contractor-crew leader system:

> . . . quarters are provided by the farmer, the grower or the farmers' cooperative association. But that is about the limit of his interest in most cases.
> The middle man is the crew leader, or labor contractor, and all too often he is the villain of the whole sad business.
> He makes a deal with the growers to supply a certain number of workers and he rounds them up in the South, transports them North, and often collects the pay for them, doling it out later.
> Greedy for his own share, he usually delivers his workers to the farmer several weeks before the crops are ready for picking. This is one of the worst and most widely-accepted evils of the whole migrant picture.
> Day after day, week after week, the workers sit in their shacks, waiting to go into the fields and earning not a penny. Before they have picked their first bushel of beans or cherries or tomatoes they are in debt to the camp store, run by the crew leader or by someone he has licensed to operate it for him.[11]

A licensed labor contractor in California gave the following testimony before the President's Commission on Migratory Labor:

Question: Do you know what prices these [contractors'] commissaries charge, whether it is reasonable with what the merchants would charge in the village?

Answer: It invariably is unreasonable . . . they charge a man two dollars [or] two dollars and a quarter a day for room and board. . . . That board is really something terrible. I mean they really rob them.

[The labor contractor] is in a position to sway the general equilibrium of honesty in any direction he wants. . . . There are many contractors and solicitors who have camps. . . . They supply the food, the women, the narcotics—in which there is a heavy traffic within these camps—and beer and wine and everything else, so they subsequently end up with a large proportion of the payroll.

Few states have laws regulating farm labor contractors. Four states require that such contractors obtain licenses, comply with certain regulations as to records, refrain from engaging in certain undesirable practices and, usually, file a bond. New York State has a law requiring labor contractors bringing ten or more migrant workers into the state to register with the Industrial Commissioner and to keep records on wages, working conditions and other data; the Commissioner may revoke, suspend or refuse to renew the registration for various reasons, including giving false information to workers as to terms and conditions of employment; employers may not use the services of labor contractors who are not registered. The State of Pennsylvania has issued regula-

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tions applying to labor contractors, providing for licensing, and placing upon them certain duties and responsibilities.[12]

Foreign Migratory Workers in the United States

During the summer of 1957, together with Dr. Ernesto Galarza of the National Agricultural Workers Union, the NAACP labor secretary observed at first-hand the labor camps and working conditions of farm labor in several areas in California. *In the course of interviewing many groups of Negro and white farm laborers and from an examination of statistical data it was determined that native American workers, both Negro and white, have been virtually forced out of agricultural employment in California as a result of the importation of Mexican nationals. In addition it was found that the importation of farm labor from Mexico is broadly used to depress wage rates for domestic farm labor throughout the entire West Coast area.*

The Mexican worker or "bracero" now comes to the United States under international agreement; the legal basis for this is U.S. Public Law 78, which was adopted because of acute wartime manpower shortages in agricultural labor.

However, an analysis of the number of workers brought to the United States under Public Law 78 clearly indicates that there has been a steady increase each year, so that even in a year (1958) of widespread unemployment and recession, over 450,000 foreign nationals were brought to the United States.

Because the agreement is between government and government, many safeguards for the workers are included. But inadequate appropriations for inspection and enforcement have reduced the value of the international agreements although it is necessary to note that imported workers are legally in a superior position to domestic workers who usually have none of these protections.

Other foreign workers, employed under a contract between foreign governments and growers' associations or only between grower and grower, are less well-protected; and worst of all are the most recent programs, such as those involving Japanese and Philippine workers, which are not under Department of Labor supervision, but only under the Immigration Bureau of the Department of Justice which is not equipped for such work.

"We Don't Need You Boys Any More"

To understand how the alien labor program has affected the native-born farm worker on the West Coast one must hear him tell his own story:

> I am Casey Garcia. I am an American citizen and was born in Los Angeles. . . . We always worked in the crops and traveled from one place to another. . . . There was a job for everybody who wanted to work.
>
> Then the big companies started bringing in nationals from Guadalajara, Monterrey and other places. The nationals had contracts to work for wages at fifty cents an hour. . . . We always made more than fifty cents an hour no matter what we did in the fields.

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> In 1950 there were about five thousand nationals brought into El Centro . . . the boss would say, "We don't need you boys any more. The Farmers Association is sending some nationals. . . . The contract says they must work three-fourths of the time and we can't afford to pay them for not working" . . . we couldn't get the Labor Department to send the nationals back to Mexico.

MORE THAN A HALF-MILLION FOREIGN FARM WORKERS now are brought into the United States under contract each year, plus many thousands of Puerto Ricans who also are brought in for work under contractual arrangement. In addition farm laborers from Jamaica and the Bahamas are brought to the United States through work agreements negotiated directly between American farm employers and the Bahamian or Jamaican governments or their agents.[13]

Although conditions for migratory farm workers are much the same throughout the United States, conditions among foreign nationals may vary considerably because of difference in contractual arrangements and degree of enforcement of labor provisions. Typical of what imported laborers may expect either on the West Coast or along the Atlantic Seaboard is the poor treatment of Bahamian workers as reported by the Workers Defense League, which described the dilapidated and unsanitary housing facilities for such workers in New Jersey and Virginia. Some of the most scandalous conditions, especially with regard to economic exploitation, were found at the huge apple orchards owned and operated by Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia.

Mexican Nationals: The Largest Foreign Group

By far the largest number of alien farm workers in the United States are the Mexicans brought to this country under an international agreement. Because this agreement is continuously violated by American farm operators, the conditions of these workers are in most cases about as bad as those of American migrant workers.

Dr. Ernesto Galarza, on behalf of the National Agricultural Workers Union, has made an extensive study of Mexican contract farm workers in the United States. He estimated that since 1942 more than one million Mexican citizens have worked in this country as agricultural laborers, and that they have worked in more than half of the forty-eight states. In his investigations of migrant camps where Mexican laborers are living and working in the United States, Dr. Galarza found blatant and widespread violations of the international agreement under which the Mexicans are brought to this country.

Among the rights of Mexican nationals enumerated in the international Migrant Labor Agreement of 1951 (amended) are the following:

Although the provisions in international labor contracts are rarely enforced, the Farm Bureau and the growers' contracting associations have attacked the United States Labor Department for the very existence of regulations covering Mexican contract workers. E. S. McSweeney, secretary of the Arizona Cotton Growers' Association, told a Congressional subcommittee in 1958 that "we as farmers or farm organizations"

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have "become quite bitter about this constant regulation down to the minimum detail." One of the labor camps operated by Mr. McSweeney's association was described by a Labor Department official as "by far the worst. . . . Each unit is about ten by twelve. Four men and a kerosene stove are squeezed into each hut. . . . The door to some of the huts can't be closed from the inside. As a result chickens invade and leave their droppings on the floor. . . . The garbage is infrequently collected. . . ."[14]

In the course of his testimony at the Public Hearings of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor in Washington, D.C. on February 5, 1959, Dr. Galarza vividly described the current operation of the contract labor system in California as follows:

> The moment the bracero is contracted in El Centro, the Association [of growers] is responsible for his food and transportation. At that moment he becomes a cost item in production. He is therefore hired as late in the day as possible and hustled north by bus so that he can arrive in time to do a full day's work. The trip may be six hundred miles long, so it is made at night, with breakfast served on the double and work starting immediately. . . . Braceros are imported to do stoop labor in the fields, so the theory goes. The hard and menial tasks of hoeing and grubbing do not attract domestic workers, not even at 70 cents an hour. But the Mexican National, with his captive ways, has captivated employers in nurseries, poultry farms, cattle feed lots, wineries and packing sheds. He is now commonly used to drive tractors, operate sprinkling systems, pack lettuce, thresh beans and do odd repair jobs, youngster sitting and gardening for his boss in town. . . .
>
> In the winter of 1957, under heavy pressure from the National Agricultural Workers Union, the Farm Placement Service reluctantly denied permission to use Mexican Nationals in vineyards and orchard pruning. Hundreds of jobs were thus made available to domestic workers. The domestic farm labor force proved entirely sufficient and satisfactory, and this was recognized by the Farm Placement Service itself. In the winter of 1958-59 the same domestic labor force was available, but the Farm Placement Service declared a shortage of pruners. Nationals were certified and domestics were displaced.

Citizens Act

Some examples of positive action are to be found in Pennsylvania where an effective citizens' committee was organized to bring about reforms in the treatment of the thousands of migratory farm workers brought into that State. The Pennsylvania Citizens' Committee on Migratory Labor was organized as a result of the extensive investigation of labor camps and working conditions in the State undertaken in 1951 and 1952 by the NAACP and Dr. Cyrus Karraker of Bucknell University. The Pennsylvania Citizens' Committee has been responsible for a number of significant reforms, among them the establishment of day-care centers for the children of migratory workers in Potter County, which has the greatest concentration of migrants in Pennsylvania.

A limited number of special summer schools for the children of migrant workers have been established in Rochester, New York; Oak Center, Wisconsin; Wiggins, Colorado; Bay County, Michigan; and Des Plaines, Illinois.

Enlightened farmers in Kings Ferry and Cutchogue, New York, have

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attempted to build adequate model labor camps and day-care centers, while some large processors in Maryland and New Jersey have donated money and buildings for child-care centers.

However, these few valuable and constructive projects, which have been the result of work by dedicated volunteer groups, are inadequate and isolated and do not begin to deal seriously with the basic issues which are clearly the responsibility of State and Federal Governments.

Necessary Legislative Action

The responsible national and local organizations concerned with migratory farm labor in the United States have agreed on the following 14-Point legislative program as realistic and vitally necessary:

1) The use of the public employment facilities of the Federal-State Employment System should be restricted to growers whose wages, housing and working conditions meet minimum standards.

2) The protections and standards currently recognized as necessary in Puerto Rican and Mexican National contracts should cover all migrant workers, foreign and domestic. Such standards should not be lower than those recommended by the International Labor Office.

3) The Fair Labor Standards Act should include farm workers in its provisions, particularly in the minimum wage provisions. It should be amended to extend child labor protection to children outside as well as during school hours. Complementary state legislation is needed.

4) The Labor Management Relations Act should protect the right of farm workers to organize and bargain collectively. The organization of farm workers should be encouraged.

5) Crew leaders and labor contractors should be licensed on a national basis.

6) Ways of extending the Unemployment Compensation Act to cover farm workers should be studied.

7) Federal aid should be extended to help states in encouraging improvement of housing for migrants and extension of health and welfare services to cover migrants. Federal financial aid should be made available specifically for the construction and renovation of migrant farm labor camps. Congress should direct the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to supplement existing grants to the several states, making available money for direct relief grants to migrants, with eligibility for such grants not dependent upon the recipient's residence status in any particular state.

8) State legislation should be enacted to carry out the recommendations of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor in the fields of housing and transportation, and to extend compulsory Workmen's Compensation to cover farm workers.

9) The states should be encouraged to provide adequate education and child care for migrant children. Federal aid should be supplied where necessary to make this possible.

10) Congress should authorize an investigation of the foreign-labor program by a responsible committee representing the public, employers and labor

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and public law 78 should be invoked only when there is an actual labor shortage.

11) A program for rural redevelopment should be enacted by the Congress with broad scope to wipe out "depressed areas" through land conservation, natural resources and industrial development, together with education, vocational guidance and training for people living in rural communities.

12) Interstate Commerce Commission regulations affecting the transportation of migrants should be amended to include an "out-of-service" provision to prevent a vehicle transporting migrants from operating if its mechanical condition is to be a likely cause of an accident or breakdown.

13) Congress should direct the United States Department of Labor to establish and operate, in cooperation with the several states, a federally financed interstate system of highway rest stops for migrants.

14) Congress should direct the Department of Labor to establish a Bureau of Migratory Farm Labor. It should assign to this Bureau primary responsibility for raising the living standards of migratory labor. Such a Bureau should have a clear directive as to its responsibilities in housing, transportation, child labor, minimum wages and other worker protections, child care, registration of crew leaders, health, welfare, and all other matters relating to agricultural labor.

What is clearly needed now is broad and effective action. Action by Government; action by enlightened growers and the management of the vast food processing and packing corporations of this country; action by organized labor; action by all the responsible elements in American society to effect fundamental changes in the recruiting, organization and allocation of the nation's agricultural manpower resources, and to secure a basic reorganization of the system of migratory farm labor which will be in the interests of the entire community.

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ALBERT CAMUS

Nicola Chiaromonte

A man is dead: you think of his living face, of his gestures, his actions, and of moments you shared, trying to recapture an image that is dissolved forever. A writer is dead: you reflect upon his work, upon each book, upon the thread that ran through them all, upon their vital movement toward a deeper meaning; and you seek to form a judgment which takes account of the secret source from which they sprang and which is now stilled. But the picture of the man is not made up of the sum of your memories; nor the figure of the writer of the sum of his works. And one cannot discover the man through the writer, or the writer through the man. Everything is fragmentary, everything is incomplete, everything is the prey of mortality even when destiny seems to have granted both man and writer the gift of living to the limit of his forces, and of giving everything humanly possible, as in the case of Tolstoy. The story of a man is always incomplete; it is sufficient to think of what could have been different—almost everything—to know that his story can never contain the meaning of a human life, but only what that existence was permitted to be and to give. The truth was the living presence; and nothing can replace it. Immortality is an illusion for thought and art, as for man. They are nothing but relics mutely surviving time's erosion and history's disasters, like monuments of stone. But it is in this very fragility—that equates the humblest existence with the one that we falsely call "great" and is simply one that had the luck to express itself—that there lies the meaning and value of human life. And that value is eternal.

Albert Camus appeared in my life in April, 1941, in Algiers, where I had come as a refugee from France. I met him soon after my arrival, for in Algeria he was famous: the leader of a group of young journalists, aspiring writers, students, friends of the Arabs, enemies of the local bourgeoisie and Pétain. They lived together, passed the days on the seashore or hillside, and the evening playing records and dancing, hoping for the victory of England and giving vent to their disgust with what had happened to France and to Europe. They also put on plays, and in that period were preparing a production of *Hamlet* in which Camus, in addition to directing, played the leading role opposite the Ophelia of his wife, Francine.

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He had published a volume of prose poems entitled *Noces,* they told me. I did not read it, because in those days I was not in the mood for prose poems, but chiefly because the company of him and his friends was enough. In their midst I found the France I loved and the pure clear warmth of French friendship. I attended the rehearsals of *Hamlet,* went to the beach with them, took walks with them, talking about what was happening in the world. Hitler had just occupied Greece, and the swastika waved over the Acropolis. I suffered continual nausea and solitude in the face of these events. But solitary and shut off as I was, I was the guest of those young people. To know the value of hospitality one must have been alone and homeless.

I try to recall details, as if through them I could relive those days and learn something more about the young writer with whom I actually spoke little, since he felt no more like talking than I. I remember being totally obsessed by a single thought: we had arrived at humanity's zero hour and history was senseless; the only thing that made sense was that part of man which remained outside of history, alien and impervious to the whirlwind of events. If, indeed, such a part existed. This thought I considered my exclusive privilege; I felt that no one else could be so possessed by it, yet I yearned for someone to share it with. But there was no one. It was not an idea compatible with normal life, let alone with literature—or so it seemed to me.

However, I did have something in common with this twenty-eight year old writer—love of the sea, joy of the sea, ecstatic admiration of the sea. I discovered this one day when I was his guest at Oran and we went by bicycle beyond Mers-el-Kebir to a deserted beach. We spoke little even then, but we praised the sea, which does not have to be understood, which is inexhaustible and which never palls. All other beauty does, we agreed. This agreement sealed our friendship. Camus told me then that he was writing a tragedy about Caligula, and I tried to understand what could attract a modern writer to such a subject. Unfettered tyranny? But contemporary tyranny did not seem to me to have much in common with Caligula's.

From Oran I continued my journey to Casablanca from where I had been told I could embark for New York. I said good-bye to Camus and his wife, knowing that we had exchanged the gift of friendship. At the core of this friendship was something very precious, something unspoken and impersonal that made itself felt in the way they received me and in our way of being together. We had recognized in each other the mark of fate—which was, I believe, the ancient meaning of the encounter between stranger and host. I was being chased from Europe; they remained, exposed to the violence that had driven me out. I carried away with me the impression of a man who could be almost tenderly warm one moment and coolly reserved the next, and yet was constantly longing for friendship.

I SAW HIM AGAIN in New York in 1946 on the pier where I had gone to meet his ship. In my eyes he seemed to me like a man coming

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straight from the battlefield bearing its marks, pride and sorrow. By that time I had read *L'Etranger, Le Mythe de Sisyphe* and *Caligula.* In those black years the young man from Algeria had fought and conquered. He had become, together with Jean-Paul Sartre, the symbol of a defeated France, which because of them had imposed itself victoriously in its chosen domain—intelligence. He had won his position on the stage of the world; he was famous; his books were brilliant. But to me he had conquered in a more important sense. He had faced the question which I considered crucial and which had so absorbed me during the days that I first met him. He had mastered it and carried it to extreme and lucid conclusions. He had succeeded in saying in his fevered way and in an argument as taut as a bow why, despite the fury and horror of history, man is an absolute; and he had indicated precisely where, according to him, this absolute lay: in the conscience, even if mute and stilled; in remaining true to one's self even when condemned by the gods to repeat over and over the same vain task. In this lay the value of *L'Etranger* and *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* for me.

With an almost monstrous richness of ideas and vigor of reasoning Sartre had said something similar. But when he arrived at the question of the connection between man and history today; between man and the choices which impose themselves today, Sartre seemed to have lost the thread of his reasoning, to have turned backward to realism, to categorical obligations imposed on man from the outside, and worse, to notions of the politically opportune. Camus held firm, at the risk of exposing himself, defenseless, to the criticism of the dialecticians, and of seeming to pass brusquely from logic to emotive affirmation. It is certain that what induced him to remain firm was not an ideological system, but the sentiment, so vehemently expressed in *L'Etranger* and in some pages of *Le Mythe de Sisyphe,* of the inviolable secret which is enclosed in every man's heart simply because he is "condemned to die." That is man's transcendence. That is man's transcendence in respect to history; that is the truth which no social imperative can erase. Desperate transcendence and truth, because they are challenged in the very heart of man, who knows that he is mortal and eternally guilty, with no recourse against destiny. Absurd such transcendence and truth —but absurd as they were, they were reborn every time that Sisyphus descended "with heavy, but equal, steps, toward the torment whose end he would never approach. . . ." This secret, like the "eternal jewel" of Macbeth can never be compromised or violated without sacrilege.

Albert Camus had known how to give form to this feeling and to remain true to it. Because of this, his presence added to everybody's world, making it more real and less insensate. And because of this, not of his fame, the young writer from Algeria has "grown" in my eyes, worthy not only of friendship but admiration. It was no longer a matter of literature, but of directly confronting the world. Literary space, that *trompe l'oeil* that had been invented in the nineteenth

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century to defend the individual artist's right to be indifferent, was broken. Camus (and, in his very different way, Sartre) by the simple act of raising the question of the value of existence, asserted the will to participate actively, in the first person, in the world; that is, to challenge directly the actual situation of contemporary man in the name of the exigence of a conscience whose rigor was not attenuated by pragmatic considerations. With this, one might say, he returned to the *raison d'être* of writing. Putting the world in question means putting one's self in question and abandoning the artist's traditional right to remain separate from his work—a pure creator. In the language of Camus this signifies that if the world is absurd, the artist must live immersed in the absurd, must carry the burden of it, and must seek to prove it *for the others.*

This was the real and the only valid meaning of *engagement.* Such a choice carried within itself the threat of the cancerous negation that Camus called nihilism. One had to go through the experience of nihilism and fight it. The simplest act of life is an act of affirmation; it is the acceptance of one's own and others' lives as the starting point of all thinking. But living by nihilism is living on bad faith, as a bourgeois lives on his income.

In 1946 Camus was invited to speak to the students of Columbia University in New York. I have kept notes of his talk, and am sure I can reconstruct it without betraying his meaning. The gist of the speech was as follows:

> We were born at the beginning of the First World War. As adolescents we had the crisis of 1929; at twenty, Hitler. Then came the Ethiopian War, the Civil War in Spain, and Munich. These were the foundations of our education. Next came the Second World War, the defeat, and Hitler in our homes and cities. Born and bred in such a world, what did we believe in? Nothing. Nothing except the obstinate negation in which we were forced to close ourselves from the very beginning. The world in which we were called to exist was an absurd world, and there was no other in which we could take refuge. The world of culture was beautiful, but it was not real. And when we found ourselves face to face with Hitler's terror, in what values could we take comfort, what values could we oppose to negation? In none. If the problem had been the bankruptcy of a political ideology, or a system of government, it would have been simple enough. But what had happened came from the very root of man and society. There was no doubt about this, and it was confirmed day after day not so much by the behavior of the criminals but by that of the average man. The facts showed that men deserved what was happening to them. Their way of life had so little value; and the violence of the Hitlerian negation was in itself logical. But it was unbearable and we fought it.
>
> Now that Hitler has gone, we know a certain number of things. The first is that the poison which impregnated Hitlerism has not been

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eliminated; it is present in each of us. Whoever today speaks of human existence in terms of power, efficiency and "historical tasks" spreads it. He is an actual or potential assassin. For if the problem of man is reduced to any kind of "historical task," he is nothing but the raw material of history, and one can do anything one pleases with him. Another thing we have learned is that we cannot accept any optimistic conception of existence, any happy ending whatsoever. But if we believe that optimism is silly, we also know that pessimism about the action of man among his fellows is cowardly.

We opposed terror because it forces us to choose between murdering and being murdered; and it makes communication impossible. This is why we reject any ideology that claims control over all of human life.

It seems to me today that in this speech, which was a sort of autobiography, there were all the themes of Camus' later work, from *La Peste* to *Les Justes* to *L'Homme Révolté.* But in it there remained, discreetly in shadow, the other Camus, the one that I can call neither truer nor artistically superior, for he is simply "the other," jealously hidden in his secret being—the anguished, dark, misanthropic Camus whose yearning for human communication was perhaps even greater than that of the author of *La Peste;* the man who, in questioning the world, questioned himself, and by this testified to his own vocation. This is the Camus of the last pages of *L'Etranger,* and especially the Camus of *La Chute* in which we hear his deepest being, the self-tormenting tormentor speak, resisting all forms of complacency and moral self-satisfaction. He wrote, "I was persecuted by a ridiculous apprehension: one cannot die without having confessed all one's own lies . . . otherwise, be there one hidden untruth in a life, death would render it definitive . . . this absolute assassination of the truth gave me vertigo. . . ." With these words, it seems to me, the dialogue of Albert Camus with his contemporaries, truncated as it is by death, is nonetheless complete.

Translated by MIRIAM CHIAROMONTE

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Few problems are more urgent these days, and more difficult too, than that of the fragility of democratic institutions in the underdeveloped countries. One of the writers who has approached this problem with intimate knowledge, careful thought and unqualified commitment to democratic values is Asoka Mehta, the leader of the Indian Praja Socialist Party and a friend of DISSENT. *We are pleased to present here two short articles by Mehta on this topic. The first is adapted from a speech he delivered at the Rhodes Conference on Representative Government and Public Liberties; the second is taken from* Janata, *the Indian Socialist weekly.*—EDITORS.

DEMOCRACY IN THE NEW NATIONS

Asoka Mehta

In the new states [in Asia, Africa and the Middle East], one after another, the very groundwork we are discussing [representative government and public liberties] is in danger of being destroyed. There is another difficulty. Though all of us seem to be using the same words, behind these words there are different meanings and connotations which we put on them because of the different experiences that we of the underdeveloped countries have.

Many of us find that we have to fall back on our own national experiences, to present case histories of our countries, because without them it would be difficult for others to comprehend the meaning we give to certain words which we so freely use here. The "government of the people" in Abraham Lincoln's famous definition of democracy is not something *we* can take for granted. The existence of government, "government of the people" becomes the central fact of all our consideration, and only then can we turn to government by the people and for the people.

I view the new States as set in some kind of spectrum, where different countries may be in different color bands. It is impossible for us to say which particular color band is the ideal, nor is it possible to say that a particular country will find itself in a particular color band in all matters. For instance, take the concept of "participation." We are all agreed that participation is the very essence of democracy, but to make participation meaningful it is necessary to build up an "infrastructure," that is, the web of associative life, little cooperatives, trade unions, etc. Now, the infrastructure cannot be built up in a new State unless the State itself takes the initiative. We therefore find ourselves moving back and forth on the spectrum.

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We talk often and a lot about "democracy." And often in different senses. For an Indian, if the military forces were to take over the Government of his country, that would automatically mean the end of democracy. But Mr. Maung-Maung of Burma, whom I respect and whose intelligence and integrity I admire, says the people of Burma are "happy" that the army has taken over; that this is part of the process of democracy; that this is not the end of democracy but rather a manifestation of it. If the army had not stepped in, democracy would have died. Because the army has taken over, democracy has a chance of surviving, growing, and flourishing in Burma.

It may be that in the new states, it may be best to have "a democracy without the possibility of an alternative government." It would be best for opposition parties to operate as pressure groups. But, while this may be an ideal solution, our friend from Burma warns us that the one big lesson to be drawn from the Burmese experience is that this immediate post-independence unity will not survive very long; it is bound to break up. And Moshe Sharett tells us that, even in a stable country like Israel, one in which there are many parties, no real alternative to the Government in power exists. If the combination of forces that the governments have represented so far breaks up, the State of Israel itself might break up. In Pakistan the decay of the Moslem League has led to the death of democracy.

IT IS BAD to have one big party, but if the party decays, there is danger that the State will disintegrate. It is bad for the army to come in, but when it does, perhaps the prospects of saving democracy are improved. Thus the quest for democracy seems to move back and forth in a manner that cannot be understood in terms of purely formal, two-dimensional logic. We have to think of a process, or of a spectrum of continuous gradations. We must be willing to look at those problems as capable of expressing themselves in more than one form.

It is said that in the Moslem countries, there is the problem of self-identification. I do not think this problem is peculiar to the Moslem countries. All over the new States today, the focus of allegiance seems to be shifting—there is a mercurial movement. Sometimes popular allegiance settles down around religion; sometimes it seeks out language as the common emotional center around which to crystallize itself. It may be religion, it may be language, it may be territory, and one does not know when the mercurial movement will start again. That is the reason why it is difficult to define a "nation" today in our part of the world. The core of a nation keeps shifting and changing. Some people were a nation before they got hold of a territory, as in Israel. On the other hand, the West African States very often are merely geographical expressions in quest of a personality for themselves.

MR. OGUNSHEYE of Nigeria thinks that when the imperial power withdraws, battle for succession starts between the traditional elite and the western educated elite. I wish it were that simple every-

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where. Maybe it is so in some of the new States, but certainly not in my part of the world. It is in the very same individual that the conflict between the traditional orientation and modern orientation often takes place. It is not that there is a battle for succession between two well-defined elites. The elite itself is not able to make up its mind or decide where to go. Many Western educated persons start with a bias for modernism. But practical experience compels the need for adaptation and absorption of traditional values and sources of strength. As recent developments in Nigeria and Ghana testify, modernism cannot reach the grass roots unless it adapts itself to the traditional ways, at least in some measure. The new "system" has to be assimilated to traditional conditions, requirements, and opportunities of those countries.

A very important fact is that many of these countries are primarily interested in building up their military power. Economic development is oriented to the requirements of military power. When we talk about international aid flowing to dependent areas, [when we are told] that it would be the responsibility of the developed powers to provide the wherewithal for heavy industry in the new States, we forget that this kind of international association can come about only if the need for building up armies becomes obsolete. It is only when nations stop thinking of their strength in terms of armed potential—as long as that is so international aid is bound to be distorted and pitiful—that there can be plentiful aid, and the whole character of international society can get radically changed.

I think that in discussing international economic development, we forget that we are living in a society of nation-States. If economic development is not to become distorted, we must try more and more to make "international society" a reality.

Mr. Abdel Rahman from Egypt and Prince Kukrit Pramoj from Thailand think that though for 25 years or more in their countries efforts were made to build up democratic institutions, they have failed signally. They have failed because, however important democracy may be, unless democracy can serve the people, can vitalize them, can release their energies, these institutions remain lifeless. Not only lifeless, but what is worse, oppressive. Therefore, the basic thing is not "democracy," conceived as a set of institutions, but the ability to stir the people, to move them to release their energies, their *elan,* their enthusiasm. But while releasing this enthusiasm, care has to be taken that some kind of commonly accepted framework grows up around the formal constitutional government that is created.

Finally, I would like to point out that many of the new States are in fact very old countries, and that in the old countries there is a great hankering for something transcendental to unite us and to link us together. I was interested to find that our friend from Thailand ended on a truly anguished note—that in Thailand there is need for the kind of religious values that Gandhi represented in India. This constant craving, this feeling that in the last analysis it is the resurgence of the spirit that will make our politics, our economics meaningful; that it is

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not so much in the realm of political institutions, or of economic development, nor even in the realm of ideas alone, but rather in the deep, dark regions of the spirit that we shall have to fight and go to find our regeneration and our salvation, seems to be an inarticulate major premise of all discussions on democracy in the new States.

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Some weeks back I picked up in a London bookshop a book, *Conviction,** wherein twelve young socialists have outlined a new socialist policy relevant to Britain today. None of the essays reflects awareness of the problems socialists face in the underdeveloped countries. I was therefore surprised to discover a community of outlook between the "older" socialists of Asia and the younger socialists of Britain.

It seems similar problems confront socialists in early stages of development and after economic growth has been achieved. The difference lies in the fact that for the former these problems are more parts of the means of social change, while they form the core of the ends for the latter. Such appears to be the dialectics of socialist development.

Beyond the welfare state is the need for involvement of the people in activities of society. As Peter Townsend says, "A society for the people" has to be brought into being where in Raymond Williams' words it is recognized that "culture is ordinary." Likewise, in a country struggling for development, involvement of the people in the process of growth is the inescapable precondition of development. Peter Shore bemoans the fact that he "could not detect any significant shift in the values of our society—no decline in acquisitiveness, no increase in the awareness that we are involved in and must help each other."

Such a shift in values is evidently necessary in Britain to make socialism meaningful; in India it is necessary to make development possible. The anguished cry of Peter Townsend, "The more privileges you have the fewer there are for others," may reflect the need for providing an adequate coping-stone to the edifice of the welfare state, but in India it is the cornerstone—without it the edifice cannot rise.

Significant shifts in values are not easy to achieve in a world that is so much institution-oriented. That is why "other-directedness" (as Riesman has called it) wins in welfare communities and Communists make gains in Asia.

Institutional changes are undoubtedly necessary for development, as I shall show later, but the point that I want to make here is that such changes without the needed shift in values may fail to evoke the vital elan.

There is another point from the book that I want to underscore. Peter Shore in his essay, "In the Room at the Top," writes:

> In November 1956 I was chosen by the Halifax Labour Party as their prospective candidate. Thereafter every third week-end I travelled from my home in Harlow to my new constituency. It was a strange journey. I was

* *Conviction,* edited by Norman MacKenzie. MacGibbon & Kee, London. 1958.

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> travelling, not just between Essex and West Riding, but between two industrial revolutions, between two centuries. . . . It was a journey too between two sorts of politics.

In India such journeys are stranger still: one travels not only between two industrial revolutions, but to the pre-industrial world; not just two centuries but many centuries co-exist here. We in India live in the midst of a cavalcade of centuries. There are inevitably many sorts of politics and they have to be harmonized for normal democratic functioning.

SOCIALIST IDEAS have achieved elemental power because of their profound involvement with social justice. In the West, socialists have been concerned mainly with juster distribution to the neglect of the processes of production. In Asia too socialism tends to get a similar emphasis, while the needs of development—of augmenting savings and investments—demand treatment of distribution as a function of production. Here again, the ends socialists seek in the West emerge as means (without losing their validity as ends) in Asia.

Socialists *ex hypothesi* are egality-oriented. In Asian countries, where development claims sacrifices, equality has a functional role also. But often, growth of production depends on provision of incentives. Again, consumption patterns of those who run a steel mill, even in the public sector, or who work in National Science Laboratories or in atomic plants, is likely to be closer to Western standards and very different from that of farm laborers.

Is it equality to treat them alike or is the desired objective served by treating them unequally? Will equal treatment be understood as such by the technicians and scientists? Will unequal treatment be accepted as dynamic equality by the farm laborers? Verily, among equals, some are more equal than others!

The Asian countries have low per capita income and unappeased hunger presses heavily on any surplus that emerges in the economy. In a democratic framework this pressure gets aggravated. Surpluses emerge as profits—it is the essence of development that the share of profit in the economy expands. Profits emerge in either the private sector or public sector, and in either case profits have a bad odor with popular socialism.

The logic of development implies that the rich tend to become richer and the poor poorer, whether the rich are individuals, classes, regions or sectors of economy. Countervailing action has to be a necessary part of informed social action.

But such action cannot beat a simultaneous rhythm with development. In the dissimilar rhythm how much is inescapable, and how much induced by the self-interest of the power elites?

DEVELOPMENT BRINGS about sectoral imbalance in the economy. Production at higher levels of technique can grow at the expense

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of the lower level of technique. In India, in the sugar industry for instance, factory production is 2.04 million tons, providing employment to 150,000 workers and involving a capital outlay of Rs. 547.3 million while the cottage industry's production is 3.15 million tons, providing employment to 2.26 million workers and involving a capital outlay of Rs. 390 million. Development of the sugar industry is likely to mean the growth of the factory sector at the expense of the cottage industry. A coordinated production program, set in the framework of development, requires training of the flow of technique for which the necessary guidance is not available.

In traditional capitalist societies, as also under communism, sectoral imbalances get corrected over a period of time, through the mute misery of its victims. In a democratic society, a sector tends to become a lobby, and correction of imbalances confronts resistance and demands concessions.

In the shrinking area of democratic socialism in Asia, economic development demands careful orchestration as a necessary condition of development while elsewhere the emerging disharmonies get resolved during and as a consequence of development.

Sir Dennis Roberston has said that "the sacrifices necessary to achieve growth consist not merely in passive abstinence from consumption, but in consent to be disturbed in established routines of life and work." Such disturbance is easier to evoke where new techniques are introduced, which induce new rhythms of work; but in India, the key job is to induce the 60 million peasant households and 12 million small artisans to produce more with traditional tools and techniques, because the wherewithals of improving them have first to be fabricated in more involved industrial sectors.

PETER SHORE in his essay in *Conviction* says, "the only generalization that one could safely make is that large-scale organization, public or private, is, under twentieth century conditions, likely to be more efficient than small-scale enterprises." But in India growth of large-scale enterprises depends on the success achieved in making small-scale production efficient. In the resulting efficiency lies the hope of political stability and the provision of the surplus needed for the capital-consuming sectors of the economy. In the twentieth century, Indians have thus to challenge successfully its cardinal generalization.

Socialists everywhere have feared and fought against concentration of wealth—often by creating massive concentration in the hands of the state. The influence of Mahatma Gandhi has made Indians conscious of the dangers inherent in any concentration.

"Accumulate, accumulate, that is their Moses and their prophets," that is how Marx had thundered against concentration of wealth. Gandhi has taught that the evil resides not in capital, but in concentration.

Every concentration leads to a focus of power. As Vinoba Bhave, Gandhi's noblest disciple, has put it, "Every heap causes a hollow nearby."

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The need for articulating communities, of building up a web of associative life, is further cherished because that is deemed to be the secret of the free society in many countries the socialists admire, such as Scandinavia. A free society is free to the extent the infrastructure of associative life—trade unions, co-operatives, craft associations, communes, folk schools—has been built inside the State.

In the West, the web grew up over years. In India, living under the double pressure of growing population (nearly 2 per cent a year) and expanding urbanization (3.5 million a year) the available time span is too short for evolutionary growth. For us, the infrastructure is not just the expression of freedom but the means of sustaining the yet fragile fabric of democracy. Should the State-ways be utilized to evolve the folk-ways?

Jayaprakash Narayan, the doyen of Indian socialists, broke away from his colleagues on this point. He feels that the primacy belongs to *janashakti,* or the people's power, over *raj shakti,* or the State power. He has joined Vinoba Bhave in the Bhoodan or the land-gifts movement that seeks to evoke humanity in men and community solidarity in work. The intensive campaign for land gifts for the landless, carried to almost all of India's 500,000 villages, has brought in gifts of over 5,000,000 acres of land. Now, the movement is engaged in encouraging *gramdan* or villagization of agricultural life, where all property gets donated to the village community. Over 5,000 villages have responded to the call.

The movement however has not been able to organize distribution of lands donated, to assist the landless settled on such lands, and even less in giving shape to *gramdan.* Recently it has sought the help of the Community Development Administration of the State. Enlivening spirit by itself has not been able to evoke the needed structure.

As against this, the Government suffers from a proliferation of socialist forms and misses the enlivening spirit. In the Second (Five-Year) Plan, the Government accepted socialist objectives and began to expand the public sector, nationalized some banks and all life insurance companies, introduced an integrated tax system, including wealth tax and expenditure tax (over and above the usual income-tax, super tax, corporation tax, inheritance and gift tax). It has just declared in favor of socialization of wholesale trade in food grains and co-operation of agriculture.

THE FORMS MULTIPLY and tend to become oppressive. The Government's success with the Third Plan, where the main hurdle is lack of internal resources, depends upon their ability to energize the people, to impart to the forms of socialism an evocative ethos.

The Gandhians emphasize the primacy of the peasant in India and arraign his neglect in Western socialism. The peasant is under-employed. Given his fragmentary holdings, he can never make the two ends meet without other avenues of employment being provided to him. This leads to the demand for diversification of occupations in

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villages and to the plea to reconcile the villager's needs with the productive powers of the village (or a cluster of villages), i.e., to village self-sufficiency.

As against that, over 70 million urban people, whose numbers grow at the rate of 3 to 4 million a year largely through people migrating from rural areas, demand increasing supplies of foodgrains and agricultural raw materials. This necessitates attention on not just increased production in the villages but a marked increase in the *marketed surplus.* The marketed surplus depends on what the peasant gets in return from the urban people: goods and services. That requires diversification and multiplication of wants of the peasant.

The socialists thus view the rural sector in the wider framework of economic development and tend to get lost in forms and lose the spirit. The Gandhians view the peasants in their own "milieu" and offer solutions which in the context of the modern world, with all its pressures and compulsions, act as mere palliatives.

Underdeveloped countries by definition suffer from paucity of capital. Many of them have abundance of labor. The lack of capital has to be overcome by larger doses of organizational effort.

Often these countries face erosion of the key organization built up. Not only is there the breakdown of the traditional order, but in most of the newly liberated countries the rallying of people behind the banner of one great party—the Congress in India, the Moslem League in Pakistan, the AFPFL in Burma, the Neo Destour in Tunisia—achieved during the freedom struggle does not survive long. After independence, different groups and sections among the people begin to seek self-identification and its stresses and strains affect the big party. Add to it the usual decline in prestige of any party that shoulders the burdens of government too long. The old party begins to decay—and often nothing else, nothing vital and expanding, comes up.

So a vacuum threatens to emerge, and where it does, as in Pakistan or Burma, the armed forces move in. In India, the supreme task is to accelerate the organizational effort, to wed the spirit and forms. That gives to socialists an almost Promethean responsibility.

Growth through stability is the pursuit of all democrats. In India the growth has to be accelerated, and stability has to be distinguished from the traditional stagnation.

This necessitates the mating of humanist ethics (which has been the essence of the appeal of socialism) with the social engineering that planned and purposeful efforts at economic development demand. The two together determine the texture of social change.

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A JOURNEY TO CUBA

Daniel M. Friedenberg

Ever since Francis Bacon in *The Wisdom of the Ancients* revised the earliest myths of the race in order to make man over, it has been a habit of the modern mind to interpret actions in the form of myth. Whether Prometheus, Hamlet, Falstaff, Oedipus or Captain Nemo endured their spasm of flesh is secondary to the larger reality through which they reflect the joys, anguish and inner struggle of human beings.

In our time such a myth-symbol is Fidel Castro. It is no accident that President Eisenhower made a special trip to South America in order to throw the charismatic weight of his personality over the lengthy shadow of Cuba's leader. It is no accident that Premier Khrushchev, in the heat of his attack against the United States at the recent Summit Conference, singled out Fidel Castro for praise. And specific voyages to Cuba planned by President Sukarno of Indonesia and leading figures of the new Arab and African nations, as well as literary lights like Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, indicate that the Maximum Leader of the Cuban Revolution has caught the imagination of the world.

The excitement aroused by Fidel Castro is largely due to his being the only heroic figure in the world today. Industrial societies and enormous sprawling agrarian lands cannot produce heroes, in the sense of individual figures rising against the might and power of organized society. A Churchill, a Roosevelt, a Stalin, a Hitler, even a Lenin, are the products of too many complex forces to seize the inchoate idealism among the poor and disinherited. They represent races, nations, classes but they do not recapture the primeval yearning for a Hero as Man, an individual cloaked in all the spring-desire for purity which still rings in even the most skeptic heart. Fidel Castro springs from Plutarch more than the lexicon of Karl Marx and the blood always calls more closely than clever words.

Let us not forget the rich lionesque young man who was a leader in the student revolts at the University of Havana, when politics was no mere shell game but a question of beatings, castration and violent death. Let us not forget imprisonment, exile, a landing of 82 men on a tropical shore from which a mere dozen escaped in flight to the mountains. And let us not forget how a golden dozen swelled to hundreds, defeated a government expedition of 5,000 seasoned soldiers, and then swept on to victory. This is the vision of fulfillment at its most glorious to the mass of men who live humble and frustrated lives.

"Es fortuna inconmensurable la de ser jóvenes en momentos que serán decisivos para la historia" Jorge Valdés-Miranda, the chronicler of the

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Cuban Revolution, stamps on the preface to his account. What glory to be young at a decisive moment of history! What fortune to share one's dreams with the paladin who swept to power by crushing every organized force in society, all the haughty men of pomp and money and class. For only the Church remained as a stable traditional element when Fidel Castro rode on a tank into Havana one year and a half ago, and the Church, less strong in Cuba than most Latin countries, was mainly on his side.

THIS WRITER participated to a small extent in the making of the myth. He sojourned in Cuba three years ago while Batista was at the apogee of power, and became an avowed partisan of Fidel Castro. Traveling through the island, he became involved in a guerrilla uprising at Manzanillo and served as a contact with Fidelista forces at Santiago de Cuba. Partly through his aid, a young Canadian idealist imprisoned after fighting in the Sierra Maestra mountains, succeeded in escaping the firing squad. And on his return to the United States, by means of writing and lectures, the writer tried to impress Americans with the meaning of the Castro revolt.

Recently, disturbed by the tone of the news, the writer returned to Cuba. The following consists of his general observations, based on a stay of only one week in Havana. No attempt was made to contact important leaders of the revolution. From morning to night, the writer walked through the city, talking with Cubans of all classes and attitudes. The daily press was studied, mass rallies were attended, at one of which he was arrested and questioned as a possible assassin: the writer thus has the distinction of being jailed by the security forces of both Fulgencio Batista and Fidel Castro. The balance sheet drawn of the regime is thus wholly subjective, though based on a considerable sympathy for the plight of the gay and charming people of Cuba.

It should hardly be necessary for intelligent readers to need briefing in a history of Cuba as a case study of Latin America. The lands south of our border have missed not only the winds from the 20th century, but many from the 19th century as well. The bloody Mexican Revolution and the Perón era in Argentina were the only two events of great significance in the long decades since Teddy Roosevelt shook his big stick and growled at the lesser breed in the Americas. A small elite of property owners and manipulators of tin, coffee, sugar, copper, beef, grain, bananas—the "single crop" varied but never the elite—played checkers with the Army, Church and State and the same pieces always won.

But the advent of modern life-saving drugs and new techniques of communication doomed the old way. As the population explosion hit the Latin American countries, the static balance between labor supply and food became distorted. At the same time, these people whose mere subsistence level was in actual decline, began to see through the movies and magazines that life could be other than brutish and resigned. The rise in price of industrial equipment and decline in value of raw materials, which widened the gap still further, was the final factor in the collapse of the old order.

Fidel Castro is a product of this upheaval. What happened in Cuba (with its more direct Communist

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presagement in Guatemala short years before) has been occurring in many other nations on all continents: Gamal Nasser of Egypt, Sukarno of Indonesia and Sekou Touré of Guinea are results of these same tensions. The passive resignation of peoples has been shaken off and they are turning to dynamic leaders who fuse the new vision of socialism with the one old force, nationalism, that can break through the weight of tradition imposed by caste and religion. Whether this Nationalist Socialism, developing as a world-wide alternative to American parliamentary capitalism on one side and aggressive imperialist Communism on the other, is a force for good or evil may be judged to some extent from the Cuban experiment.

THERE ARE MANY attractive features of Fidelism, mostly centered in economics. The heart of the Revolution is land reform. Avoiding the dilemma of Mexico, the Maximum Leader has attacked this question by dividing the large estates—the breeding ground of the old oligarchy—and forming cooperatives rather than small farms. If Castro has enough time and money to create a higher standard of living among the peasants as a result of this truly revolutionary change, he will go down in Cuban history as a greater patriot than José Martí. To implement this measure, the government has already pushed a "Buy Cuban" and "Grow Cuban" program which is really the alternate face of the same problem. Nothing is more humiliating than the need for Cubans to purchase foodstuffs in the United States that they can easily raise themselves, in order to cover the trade deficit created by the American quota system. The Reciprocal Treaty of 1934 deliberately forced this aspect of the quota system on the Cuban economy, and is the basis for charges of "economic slavery" that Raúl Castro and Ché Guevara delight in hurling against the United States. Since sugar and tobacco cultivation involve only three to four months, the administration is now trying to diversify with crops such as wheat, rice, potatoes and tomatoes,* the basic staples of Cuban diet. Unless agricultural wages can be stabilized on an annual basis, Cuban political and economic life will be in a perpetual turmoil.

The affirmative approach to the land question, on which the regime may ultimately be judged, has parallel aspects in other fields. Not merely for propaganda purposes, like the Peronist doctrine of *justicialismo,* but because it is deeply and sincerely believed, the Cuban regime emphasizes that justice and dignity are for the poor and small and colored as well as the rich and big and white. The Church in Cuba, which stayed closer to the people than in most Latin countries, has hesitated to assail the Revolution (as distinct from specific Communists in the government) for this very reason. The fact that Fidel Castro is widely regarded as a believer and avoids all attacks against the Church, has created an image for many Cubans in which Castro is the embodiment of Christ: a Christ-nationalist and a Christ-socialist. In this, the most underprivileged peasant may be closer to the truth than the learned exegetes. And since these same Cubans regard the castigation of the sadists

* In 1954, for example, Cuba spent over $27 million on lard, $36 million on rice and $10 million on flour. These food imports are equivalent to about one-half the value of the entire sugar subsidy.

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and murderers of Batista as a type of almost miraculous justice, the violence exhibited by the revolutionary forces does not destroy the image.

The intoxicating days however have long since passed for the Habaneros and—though the writer was not there on this trip, he heard reports—the people of Santiago de Cuba. It has been said that the masses in China welcomed the Communists because their standard of living was raised, while those of Eastern Europe went into active opposition when their living standard was reduced. Something similar is happening in the large cities of Cuba. Contrary to the delusions of the Cuban leaders and Castro's puerile comparisons with Athenian democracy, the opposition is rising at what might be considered a tidal rate. This writer was told over and over by ordinary people in Havana (the kind of persons the naive optimists who can only speak English do not meet) that Castro had over 90 per cent of all Cuba behind him in the first year, the great majority till the beginning of this year, and only a bare majority now. Almost all the peasants still support him, as do the very poor and the Negroes in the city population. The intellectuals are without doubt in his camp, though the Catholic intellectuals have already split Havana University.

But the opposition is no longer limited to the rich. It covers almost the entire middle class, and that enormous segment of the poor who in one way or another benefited from the tourist trade and American business. Shortages of even the most elementary items such as razor blades and medicine, sluggish business conditions, lack of tourists, a dearth of working capital: all these are beginning to be felt. It has been estimated that there are 900,000 persons unemployed in a population of some 6 million, or 200,000 more than during the Batista era. The sugar workers have been forced to forego a wage increase despite higher living costs, and the enforced 4 per cent "contribution" recently demanded of the general laboring class for industrialization was met with less than enthusiasm. The writer happened to encounter two students visiting Cuba as representatives of the left-wing Socialist party of Argentina—the most violently anti-American group in that country—and was startled to discover that the students, who constantly compared Castro to Perón, were far more disillusioned with events than he.

THE SIMPLE FACT is that Fidel Castro is running out of money. Lincoln Steffens made a brilliant observation when reporting the Mexican Revolution: "It is not revolutionists, it is the anti-revolutionists, who not only make but carry on a revolution. And it is the revolutionists, not the anti-revolutionists, who unmake a going revolution, or, rather, circle it back to defeat at the starting-point." It was the thugs around Batista who made Fidel Castro and Ché Guevara, and it is the hallucinatory world of revolution in which Castro and Guevara live that may unmake their revolution. The Cuban government spent $120 million last year on arms—the sugar subsidy amounts to $150 million—and the firepower of the Army is more than 2½ times that of Batista's forces. The insistence on an ever-larger Army has gone beyond what the outsider can see as legitimate. Castro has enough force to repel attacks either from Trujillo or Cuban emigrés; and he could never have enough to beat

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off a direct American invasion. The policy of massed hate, which rings through the controlled press, radio and speeches, is bound to ricochet against Castro if he does not fulfill his many promises. American public opinion has been completely alienated and the sugar subsidy is only maintained because it serves American interest: it was never created to aid Cubans in the first place.

Ambitious revolutionaries need money and money can only come through confiscations of the rich, loans, inflationary printing or squeezing it out of the masses by taxation. Since Castro cannot push the last course too far without a popular uprising, he must rely on another alternative. The rich have already been bilked to the limit, so inflation or loans alone remain. And, since the evidence points to Castro not being a Communist, the amount of money he can get from Russia is restricted by his strong feeling (in his own terms) not to become a lackey after escaping from slavery. This is the basic tragedy facing Cuba. In the long run, she can no more be an enemy of the United States than can Poland of Russia. With the purest heart and the most resolute will, the chicken cannot eat the fox.

AND YET HISTORY may judge America, and not Fidel Castro, responsible for the failure of political democracy in Cuba today. Putting aside the disgraceful years preceding the abrogation of the Platt Amendment (1934), which gave America the right to intervene in Cuban affairs, it was quite apparent that the United States supported the Batista dictatorship. A domestic tyranny was preferred to an unstable government, no matter how democratic the latter, because stability was the keyword for American capital investment. The young men growing up in the Cuba of Batista, where the passage to wealth and authority was only venal, could easily see the fingers of the United States behind the mask. And they swore that it would not be the same if ever they could free themselves from the intertwined domestic and foreign foe.

This is the ground for the emotional reactions of the present Cuban leadership to everything earmarked from America. At the very beginning, it was clear that the business community in Havana feared and distrusted Castro, and their reactions made policy in Washington. For example, when the thirteen original American colonies won their revolution almost two centuries ago, the victorious colonials confiscated the English and American-loyalist property. When Castro set out to expropriate certain American properties in Cuba, with repayment at interest on better terms than General MacArthur provided in Japan, the United States immediately set out on a campaign to discredit the new regime. When the revolutionary forces tracked down the worst criminals of the Batista era and put them on public trial, as we did to the Nazis at Nuremberg, the press in America raised an uproar heard all over the world—though the abominations committed by the "friends" of the United States like Pérez Jiménez of Venezuela, Rojas Pinilla of Colombia, as well as Batista and Trujillo, were never noticed.

It did not take Fidel Castro long to know what to suspect. At bottom, all the worst excesses of the Cuban regime flow from his knowledge of America's past in Cuba and the con-

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viction that the United States is determined to break him. The intense xenophobia, the hate campaigns, the retreat into phantasy fears, the dependence on Communist support (a man who hates your enemy is your friend), the swollen Army, the rigid control of radio and press: all these frightening symptoms of dictatorship are devices to hold the sympathy and loyalty of the Cuban people against the tremendous pressures exerted from Washington. This is the real reason why anyone who does not agree with the views of Castro is labeled a traitor. One cannot but deplore the movement of the Cuban Revolution, but neither can one separate it from the forces seeking to destroy it.

After all, for every extravagance in Cuba one can couple another from the United States. It *is* true, despite the wild tirades against American imperialism, that Cuba was politically a colony up to Franklin D. Roosevelt and continued as an economic dependency until the Castro revolution. It *is* true that for each absurdity printed by the Cuban press, there is an equal absurdity printed in the United States. It *is* true, even given the indirect benefits to the Cuban people, that the reason for the United States sugar subsidy was pure self-interest: to aid the American owners of plantations and grinding mills; and to enable Cuba to buy back more from the United States than she sold. It *is* true, regardless of how wide of the mark is Castro's phantasy fixation on sabotage, that planes from the United States have strafed the cane fields, which opens the possibility that American money or mercenaries might be involved in other incidents like the recent explosion on the ship *La Coubré* in Havana harbor. It *is* true, despite real Communist inroads in Cuba, that every sadist and maniac who quotes anti-Communism is welcomed in front of the U.S. Senate and has an assured visa to enter and depart from this country on all kinds of mischief. And it *is* true without doubt that the State Department finds more concern with Fidel Castro than it ever did the other blood-caked tyrants of Latin America.

Furthermore, the recent history of Guatemala is scarcely designed to placate Cuban fears of a direct or indirect aggression from America. Anthony Eden's memoirs, being printed in Cuba by the daily press while I was there, clearly indicate the part John Foster Dulles played in that episode. If Castro suffers from paranoiac delusions, American policy is not calculated to calm them.

When all this is put in perspective, it tends to wash out the errors and stupidities on both sides. The two nations are involved in what the French call "a dialogue of mutes" which can only be resolved by cool thinking. And the writer cannot help reflecting that, given the abuses of the past, it would be wise for the United States to take the first step.

As a starting point, Americans would be wise to think of Cuban sugar like Mexican oil, the symbol of a country's meaning and history, a symbol of national emancipation. For the much-misunderstood sugar quota system is the heart of the problem. Reviewing the facts, one can understand Cuban resentment.

In the first or 1903 Reciprocity Treaty, Cuba granted the United States preferential duties ranging from 20 to 40 per cent below those charged to other countries, while America re-

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served the right unilaterally to raise its import tariffs *except* on tobacco and sugar. Under this agreement, which lasted to 1930, Cuba supplied 53 per cent of the sugar consumed in America and in exchange bought back 90 per cent of her total imports.

The Hawley-Smoot Tariff, passed in 1930 as part of Hoover's plan to raise tariff walls around America, raised the import duties on Cuban sugar. The resulting chaos hurt both parties and a Trade Agreement was signed in 1934, which was made part of the new sugar import quota system. In effect, the principal advantage of the preceding treaty—reciprocity on sugar and tobacco—was lost to the Cubans and the share of Cuban sugar sold to the United States was fixed in Washington. The new quota system cut Cuba's share in the American market to the benefit of other areas while at the same time the American population and standard of living was rapidly rising.

The proof of the system is seen in its results. America has always been the favored party in its trade relations with Cuba. In the years 1949-1959, for example, the balance of payments were adverse to Cuba by more than a billion dollars—an enormous sum for a small country. If the sugar quota means a continued and heavy trade deficit, the Cubans feel with a great deal of reason that there is something wrong with the system.

In an era where human rights—whether genuinely subscribed to or used for their propaganda value—are preeminent over property rights, America is the sole country in the world today which *obviously* supports property rights against human rights. The United States government has manipulated all its enormous power to break the Castro regime when it found that certain American businessmen were losing their interests in Cuba. The Cuban government reacted in self-defense and hardened into a military dictatorship, with complete repression of primary freedoms, in order not to be bought or subverted. We have created the conditions which led to the Cuban dictatorship, and are now appalled by the logical conclusion of our own actions.

In an important sense, the Cuban problem thus is a reflection of our own problem. The diffuse social structure and high standard of living in the United States cushions us against dictatorship and obscures the fact that, to a large extent, we are oligarchic in structure: a "flexible" oligarchy where "the rank and file can move into the elite," but of oligarchic mode none the less. The conservative businessman undoubtedly feels more sympathetic to "order" than to the turbulence of social change and prefers to deal with his own kind in other countries. And the American people, when prosperous, are morally dead, or drowned in the sea of cheap mass entertainment based on violence divorced from social ends. It is this that creates the hostility to the Ugly American. The problem of Cuba lies more in Washington than Havana, more in the hearts of the American people than the frustrated mutterings of the Cubans.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE END OF IDEOLOGY

Dennis H. Wrong

The phrase "the end of ideology" is becoming a catchword which sums up a major tendency of our time. Daniel Bell chose it as the title for his recently published collection of essays on American politics and culture. Edward Shils in his book on McCarthyism and in several later essays contrasts the "ideological politics" which he hopes and believes to be declining in the West with what he calls "the politics of civility." Seymour Martin Lipset's book *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* might have been called with equal appropriateness "The End of Political Man," considering that Lipset is largely concerned with documenting the attenuation of the class struggle in Western countries and that the term "political man" unavoidably suggests a militant partisan. On the more rarefied level of political philosophy and covering a far longer historical time-span—from the Enlightenment to the present day—Judith Shklar pursues the same theme in her book *After Utopia: The Decline of Political Faith.*

All of these writers, with the partial exception of Miss Shklar, tend to favor the development they describe, although their precise attitudes differ, some taking a "tragic" view of politics and the human condition while others are complacent. Their overall verdict has by now become something of a cliché, repeated endlessly by columnists, journalists, and often by politicians anxious to appear as sound moderates. It becomes necessary, therefore, to ask just what the "end of ideology" means. Does it mean the end of any important domestic political conflicts in Western industrial societies? Does it mean simply the absence of new social and political movements? Does it imply that a consciously Utopian view of human possibilities is both dangerous and irrelevant? To what degree is the judgment that the ideological conflicts of the past are not likely to recur associated with approval for a politics of compromise, of piecemeal reform and short-run goals? Rather than address myself directly to these questions, I should like to review the two related but partially independent historical developments to which the heralds of the end of ideology are reacting.

First and foremost, of course, is the experience of totalitarianism, especially of a Soviet totalitarianism that has besmirched the heritage of the Left. The Left, as Philip Toynbee has put it, now has "blood on its hands" and no amount of protestation can restore the

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pristine moral authority it once possessed. The Soviet experience has had a traumatic impact, creating a suspicion of politics as such and especially of any politics making far-reaching demands and inspiring even modest Utopian hopes. The intensity and authenticity of this recoil from politics is not to be dismissed by easy references to "failure of nerve" or "Cold War chauvinism." Motives of cowardice and opportunism were, to be sure, present in some cases and a number of writers made rather nasty exploitative use of the liberal-radical *mea culpa* theme during the years when attitudes towards Communism became a national obsession. Some who were once drawn to Communism, however fleetingly, have never recovered from the shock of having been wrong about the Soviet Union, while others of the old anti-Stalinist Left have succumbed to the corrupting effects of having been proven so utterly and dramatically right about a major historical issue.

Yet whatever one's relation to Stalinism may have been, a shocked withdrawal from any effort to transcend what is in the name of an exalted version of what might be was a genuine and, in light of the realities that evoked it, an understandable response. Thus has "ideology" acquired its present bad name, becoming identified with secular messianism, chiliastic millenarianism, and, ultimately, with the nihilism and power-worship of totalitarian mass movements.

Barely fifteen years ago the term lacked the ominous overtones it possesses today. One meaning, then, of the "end of ideology" is renunciation of long-range and broad political goals by aging intellectuals who are in a chastened mood after the experiences of recent history. The end of ideology means the fear of ideology, or rather of the destructive mass emotions that ideology has proved capable of unleashing. The cruelty and fanaticism of organized masses is seen as a possibility inherent in modern industrial society and all social movements are anxiously scrutinized for their vulnerability to the totalitarian spirit. A kind of political hypochondria tends to result, viewing as safe only a politics of compromise and limited goals.

But if totalitarianism is the most crushing refutation of the nineteenth century belief in progress, whether in its evolutionary or its revolutionary-apocalyptic form, the counter-view of the future as nightmare is now losing its authority as well. If the Age of Apocalyptic Hope is dead, the Age of Apocalyptic Fear is also passing. Orwell's *1984,* Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism,* Milosz's *The Captive Mind*—the three books which captured most fully and imaginatively the essence of totalitarianism—today seem less relevant than when they were published a decade or so ago, in part, of course, owing to the very influence they have exerted. The pall is lifting; in the West at least, the lesson appears to have been learned.

Increasingly the second development encouraging belief in the end of ideology looms larger. In this version the end of ideology means the end of the class struggle, the modification of late capitalism by welfare legislation, redistributist taxation, the consolidation of powerful

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unions, and the acceptance by all political parties of Keynesian full employment policies. Economic inequalities, even extreme ones that are hard to justify, have by no means disappeared—some men are a good deal more affluent than others in the affluent society. Sources of social tension remain in the position of victimized racial minorities and marginal groups of unorganized workers and agricultural laborers. But it is impossible to believe any longer that the plight of these groups is intrinsic to "the system" in the classical Marxist sense. Even references to the "war economy" as a catch-all explanation of the failure of capitalism to exhibit internal contradictions have vanished from radical discourse in recent years, outside of the Marxist sects. The arguments and evidence mustered by sociologists like Bell and Lipset indicating that the moderation of party and class conflicts in the West is more than a temporary or cyclic phenomenon are not easily refuted. Even the struggle between the left and right wings of the British Labor Party is largely a disagreement over electoral strategy. Fierce electoral contests between parties representing the relatively privileged and the relatively deprived continue in all Western countries, as Lipset acknowledges in *Political Man*. But his book is largely a documentation of the reduced intensity of the struggle now that "the fundamental political problems of the industrial revolution have been solved: the workers have achieved industrial and political citizenship; the conservatives have accepted the welfare state; and the democratic left has recognized that an increase in over-all state power carries with it more dangers to freedom than solutions to economic problems."

AT THIS POINT, however, an air of complacency begins to suffuse the argument. Moderation is approved not merely as a "lesser evil" or as the only visible alternative but for its own sake, and impatience is displayed with those who continue to find fault with society. Lipset maintains that "many liberal intellectuals in the 1950's know that they should like and defend their society, but they still have the uneasy feeling that they are betraying their obligation as intellectuals to attack and criticize." The unmistakable suggestion is that no real grounds remain for attacking and criticizing, that the continuing dissidence of intellectuals represents a neurotic fixation on an anachronistic role.

Now Lipset and Bell are both aware of the degree to which complaints about the boredom, moral emptiness, and cultural mediocrity of contemporary life have tended to replace a truly political radicalism. They point out that mass culture, unlike economic exploitation or racial discrimination, is not obviously susceptible to correction by political means so that campaigns against it are hardly continuous with the older radicalism. Moreover, critics of mass culture borrow many of their themes from European aristocratic and romantic reactionaries. Ideas, of course, are not invalidated by the politics of their creators and many of the European theorists of mass society and culture are challenging figures who cannot be easily categorized. Nevertheless there

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is something a bit anomalous about egalitarian socialists drawing so liberally on thinkers whom they would have been—and in some cases were—roundly condemning not so very long ago.

In short, Bell and Lipset are right in contending that much contemporary cultural criticism is ambiguous in its political implications and has its origin in intellectual traditions remote from the political and economic radicalism that it often claims to be extending. But to point this out, while it may be a good polemical gambit, is not to eliminate the genuine problem which is at issue. Both writers often give the impression of thinking that because addiction to television is possible only where high living standards prevail, critics of mass culture ought to shut up unless they are prepared to embrace T. S. Eliot's political as well as his cultural opinions. And both of them finally try to reconcile the tension between the claims of cultural excellence and social justice by resorting to flagrant apologetics on behalf of American culture.

In a curious sense Bell and Lipset remain too Marxist, too determinedly "political men" themselves. This is especially true of Lipset who, as in the remark cited above about intellectuals, seems to be saying "the class struggle is over, the contradictions of capitalism have been resolved, so why do these people keep on bitching?" In a much discussed essay, he even argues that the special "class interests" of intellectuals are well taken care of, now that grants and jobs are lavished on them and their typical occupations are highly esteemed by the public. But "intellectual" and "professor" or even "artist" are not necessarily synonymous categories. And there is something a bit philistine about Lipset's supposition that the intellectuals' lack of enthusiasm for life in the United States stems from nothing more substantial than the alleged American habit of tapping heads instead of tipping hats when confronted with men of learning and cultivation. His elaborate demonstration that Americans are becoming more respectful of intellect when it is properly labeled and bottled and that, unlike Europeans, they are disinclined to show deference to anyone, bankers, statesmen, bureaucrats, or professors, is not as relevant as he thinks.

Yet whatever the tone of voice—self-satisfied, nostalgic, full of foreboding—with which it is asserted, it is undeniable that intellectuals no longer believe in apocalyptic social transformations, in "total" solutions to be achieved by political action in the traditional sense. It is also clear that we are moving into a post-bourgeois, though not post-capitalist, era in which the class struggle is ceasing to be the major source of social change and the most enduring and central issue in the political life of Western nations. This being the case, there seems to me to be little advantage or merit, in America especially, in retaining the label "socialism" to describe the outlook of those whom, for want of a better term, must be called secular radicals. Socialism is too closely linked, both as idea and movement, to the historical objectives of the working class in the century following the Industrial Revolution; specifically,

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to the issues of economic equality and security posed by the unregulated capitalism of the past. Unlike many DISSENT contributors and editors, I do not believe the term can sustain the entire weight of humanist protest against the alternately terrifying and stupefying trends of modern society. I prefer Judith Shklar's insistence on the need for a return to the spirit of the Enlightenment, the original source of our ethos, to its freshness, questing vigor, and bold sense of possibility.

THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR, the population explosion, and the rise of the peoples of the world's underdeveloped regions pose the most immediate and truly monumental problems, dangers, and opportunities of our time. But these too are resistant to the old terms of ideological debate between left and right. Though not wishing to appear to deny their urgency (how could one?), I would insist that the implications of the end of ideology as a development in the internal politics of the West must be examined independently.

Considering party politics in the narrowest sense, it needs to be emphasized that the celebrated virtues of moderation and compromise cannot become manifest unless, to begin with, there are conflicting political demands to be moderated and compromised. Otherwise, politics becomes a dull if intricate game played by professionals. The extravagant admiration bestowed by much of the press on such ordinary political operators as Nixon and Lyndon Johnson is a sign of how widely accepted such a conception of politics has become in recent years. But what if politics is in fact reduced to debate over minor adjustments among interest groups under conditions where no major group is disenfranchised either literally or figuratively and all are broadly satisfied with the status quo? Can we not then afford to leave things to the technicians, specialists in the arts of legislative and administrative bargaining, and settle back to applaud the end of ideology? Even if we assume, falsely, that the United States has reached such a happy, or at least somnolent, state, moderation will "work" only if *everyone* plays the game, if no group with any bargaining power stands firm on behalf of a principle or goal opposed by others. And this is manifestly not the case in America today. By elevating compromise and "realism" into the cardinal political virtues, the anti-ideology of moderatism plays into the hands of Southern segregationists and Republican right-wingers who remain less impressed with these virtues than many liberals. The views of the former come to represent one of the extremes to be compromised, while the other "extreme" goes by default to—the NAACP and Senator Humphrey.

The point is not that these worthies are so deficient. Nor even that they can scarcely be called radical—almost by definition we do not expect to find radicals sharing social power and political representation with conservatives and reactionaries. But the total absence of any influential body of radical opinion in the country has the effect of narrowing the spectrum of opinion to the point where "moderation"

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becomes simple stand-pattism. When intellectuals begin to look at politics through the eyes of the professional politicians, they are failing to perform their role as unattached critics and visionaries.

If "ideology" is by now, and perhaps with good reason, an irretrievably fallen word, is it necessary that "utopia" suffer the same fate? Is it to be equated permanently with the drawing up of abstract blueprints of the future to which the present must be ruthlessly sacrificed? Or with the empty myth that validates the "organizational weapon" of the totalitarian party?

UTOPIA IS "NOWHERE," located neither in space nor in time —it is not the future "struggling to be born." But Utopia is not for that reason an incredible dream, a fantasy violating the limits of the possible. On the contrary it is the vision of a *possible* society, a vision that must deeply penetrate human consciousness before the question of how it might be fulfilled is seriously considered—and by that time we will already have advanced a long way towards its fulfilment. To convert Utopia immediately into a chiliastic political goal or to envisage it as the inevitable or even the probable end of history or to use it manipulatively to legitimize the day-by-day objectives and tactics of an organization—these are corruptions of the Utopian imagination.

In justification of "piecemeal technology" (Karl Popper's phrase), Daniel Bell exclaims "but look where the eschatological visions have led!" Piecemeal technology is indeed necessary and important, but in the very same chapter, a valuable and sympathetic examination of the thought of the young Marx, Bell observes that Marx, Lenin, and their followers "sought to win millions of people for the idea of a new society without the slightest thought about the shape of that future society and its problems." In other words, there is a sense in which the Marxists were not visionary enough: they were too caught up in the upheavals of their time, too overwhelmed by the urgencies of social crisis. True, one understands the world in order to change it. But to see the acquisition of supreme political power as the sole means of changing it is to take too narrowly instrumental a view of history, a view, moreover, which is easily corruptible as we have learned to our pain.

The very fact that the possibility of transforming crises and conflicts has vanished frees the Utopian imagination from the terrible urgencies of economic class struggle and political collapse. But this is not an unqualified blessing, for the end of ideology also brings with it the danger of a placid acceptance of the given, of the loss, in Stuart Hughes' words, of "any notion of transcendence in social and cultural pursuits." Already we can see this happening to mass publics in Western society. The residues of Marxist "realism" about the facts of power and the built-in determinism, however benign in spirit, of contemporary sociological thought encourage intellectuals to follow in the same direction. It is neither vanity nor nostalgia for the past to resist these tendencies in the name of what man might yet become.

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THE REVISIONIST DEBATE

From time to time DISSENT *plans to offer summaries of significant articles published abroad and dealing with major problems of the socialist movement. This first report deals with the dispute over "revisionism" in the British labor movement. The material has been prepared by Stanley Plastrik.*

An editorial in the April, 1960 issue of *Socialist Commentary* begins as follows:

> It would be stupid to deny that demoralization has overtaken the Labor Party since the election. What could be more depressing than the contrast between the position today and the buoyant enthusiasm at the height of the election campaign six months ago? Defeat in itself need not be demoralizing—it is sometimes remarkably stimulating; the trouble has been in the reactions to defeat.

Socialist Commentary—a supporter of the Gaitskell leadership of the Labor Party—goes on to express the wish that the latter's retreat on his proposal to revise the famous clause four of the party constitution (the clause proposing public ownership of the major means of production) will calm the atmosphere and restore party peace. We have every right to wonder; the polemics that appeared before Gaitskell's withdrawal indicate major rather than minor differences. To get an indication of this we must turn to the non-socialist publication *Encounter* which carried some of the most important exchanges of opinion within the ranks of British socialism.*

C. A. R. Crosland ("The Future of the Left," *Encounter,* March, 1960) accepts the charge of "revisionism" levied against him by the Left. But to him, revisionism—the proposal to revise the Labor Party's platform and tradition—". . . is a long-term effort to enable the Labor Party to survive in mid-20th-century conditions." It is the only hope on the admittedly long road back to political power.

What is the crisis of the Socialist Left, according to Crosland? First, the fact that it has gained so much of what it sought (the full-employment, welfare-state capitalism of today) has automatically tended to dampen its appeal to the electorate; secondly, the strength of the traditional Left ". . . is being eroded by the changing age-structure of most Western populations (the old militants are dying off, unreplaced); . . . the decline of the older basic industries such as coal, railways, and textiles in which Socialist loyalties were always strongest; the housing mi-

* We want to call our readers' attention to a series of articles now being published in *Socialist Commentary,* analyzing the results of a research survey on British political attitudes. The first part of the survey has already appeared in the May issue; the June and July issues will contain other instalments which, if they are as informative as the first, promise to be the first serious effort to study what people in England really think of the Labor Party.

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gration from the solidly working-class slum areas into socially more fluid suburban estates and new towns; the changing character of the labor-force and the decline of the blue-collar relative to the white-collar working class; the cultural effect of the new mass media; and above all the sudden irruption of the upper working class into the world of automobiles, gadgets, and consumer durables."

HOWEVER, THE EVIDENCE does not clearly establish that these trends add up to a world-wide move to the Right so powerful that it explains away recent international setbacks of the socialist movement. What actually happens, according to Crosland, is that only those parties of the Left identified in the public mind with a "sectional, traditional, class appeal" are handicapped. The more flexible Leftist parties can, if they will, benefit from these general trends. The British Labor Party's primary task is therefore clear: "to adapt itself, without in any way surrendering basic principles, to the realities of social change, and to present itself to the electorate in a mid-20th-century guise."

What is that guise to be? For one thing, the party ought no longer allow itself to be caught up in a confused debate over nationalization. (One of the stranger aspects of the intellectual turmoil within the Labor Party is that all groups disclaim nationalization as the *key* issue, but then proceed to batter roundly one another's heads over precisely *this* issue!) The party, says Crosland, is already favorable to a mixed economy concept and no longer committed to complete public ownership. In fact, on the record it favors enlarging the public sector of the economy not by creation of more state monopolies but by "other and more flexible forms of social ownership." (The nature of these is unspecified.) Hugh Gaitskell in his now famous Blackpool speech calling for revision of clause four of the party constitution was simply saying what Edouard Bernstein had said 60 years back; many of the British "Left," including Bevan, have recognized the need for both flexibility and a "mixed" approach on this question. What, in effect, asks Mr. Crosland, is all the shouting about?

Further, a "Marxist-type class struggle" is no longer on the order of the day in England. Our society is not divided into antagonistic social classes leading to the polarization of "persons, personal beliefs" and the holding of extreme ideological positions. The values formulated by socialists do not necessarily, therefore, arouse the "total hostility of every Liberal or progressive Tory." But there are still serious points of separation between Right and Left, employing these political labels in their wider sense. And here Mr. Crosland finds his socialist program for the 20th Century.

- First, the socialist emphasis on social welfare, and the priority accorded to it.
- Secondly, the socialist aim of an equitable distribution of wealth according to individual effort and ability, not the accident of birth.
- Thirdly, the ideal of a socialist, classless society, as opposed to the Tory concept of a national elite.
- Fourth, the socialist belief in the equality of all races and people; the issue, perhaps, on which Tory and Laborite have the sharpest divergence.
- Fifth, differences over the proper division between the public and private sectors of the economy, touching

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upon concrete matters of social control, Government intervention and economic planning.

The point is, summarizes Crosland, that it is wrong to believe that ". . . nothing except public ownership divides the two political parties."

TO THE INTENTIONALLY moderate views of Crosland the British Left riposted *(Encounter,* April, 1960) with an article by its most able polemicist, R. H. S. Crossman—"The Spectre of Revisionism." The first telling point made by Crossman is his inability to discover any concrete proposals (beyond the suggestion of revising clause four) in the views of the Revisionists. Crossland readily acknowledges that the Left leadership has "long since avowedly abandoned wholesale nationalization as an objective." This is not the issue; rather, it is the nature and type of nationalization which must be debated. Calling for a "ruthless critique of the nationalization undertaken by the Attlee Government," Crossman subjects it to the severest criticism any Laborite has yet publicly made:

> *. . . the public discredit into which public ownership has fallen is very largely due to the disregard of Socialist principle with which whole industries have been subjected to management by remote, centralized Boards, which Parliament is expressly forbidden to investigate or control. Unfortunately, before 1945, the Labor Party had done very little advanced planning and there were no blueprints ready, showing how the industries due for nationalization were to be organized. Since the detailed job of applying Socialism to the coal mines, the railways, etc., was left to the civil servants in the Ministries, it is hardly surprising that what we got were not socialized industries but centralized, bureaucratic State monopolies. The nationalized Board —neither a public enterprise responsible to Parliament nor yet an efficient profit-making monopoly—is a hybrid, neither fish nor fowl.*

The proper way to counteract public opposition to nationalization, pursues Crossman, is not revision of clause four but a frank disassociation of the Labor Party from its own Labor Government and then the working out of ". . . precise proposals for nationalizing the nationalized industries, decentralizing their oligarchies and subjecting them to full public control." Crossman, in other words, dismisses the revisionism of Crosland and, in effect, proposes to raise a completely different, if related, question. Not, however, in the context of his article.

For, however weak he may consider Crosland's case to be, he must acknowledge the influence his opponent wields, particularly among non-socialists outside the Labor Party. More important, revisionism faithfully reflects ". . . the political mood of Britain during the last eight years." But is it adequate for the years ahead? Here there is a sharp parting of the ways; Crosland rejects the fairly optimistic prospects which the revisionists hold out for Welfare Capitalism. His perspective is one of coming political and economic crisis which the Affluent Society will be unable to cope with. The Labor Party, in terms of such a crisis, must prepare itself to be not an alternative Government, but a radical Opposition with revolutionary solutions in place of efforts to manage for the better Britain's Welfare Capitalism. The Party ought to harry both the Conservative Government and the Establishment, ". . . warning the country of the troubles that lie ahead, and showing

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how they can only be overcome by a further advance towards Socialism."

ON THE THEORETICAL GROUNDS, Crossman finds the viewpoint of the revisionists still weaker than on practical, election-winning grounds. Instead of assaulting economic orthodoxy and the vulgarity, wastefulness and inherent contradictions of Western capitalism, Crosland emphasizes its stability and strength. Why does he ignore the problem of concentration of power represented by the modern corporation? He ties the future of socialism to the most conservative and "institutionalized" parties of the Social-

The Disputed Clause

CLAUSE IV—PARTY OBJECTS

(4) To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.

ist International—the Dutch, Austrian, Swiss etc.—parties whose aim is solely to share power with anti-Socialists and without any hope of ever carrying out a Socialist program. Where do the Communist bloc or the under-developed countries enter into his rosy picture? Crosland ignores this issue, but not Crossman. On the contrary:

> Progressively year by year we shall see that, judged in terms of national security, scientific and technological development, popular education, and finally, even of mass living standards, free enterprise is losing out in the peaceful competition between East and West. It would be strange indeed for the Labor Party to abandon its belief in the central importance of public ownership at the precise moment when the superiority of socialized economies is being triumphantly vindicated in world affairs.

Reverting to an earlier issue cited by Crossman, this statement would seem to indicate his belief in the socialist nature of the Russian and satellite state economy. Crossman hastens to modify this by insisting that he has in mind ". . . planning *and* free choice, social discipline *and* civil liberty, a strong Executive *and* independent justice"; that is, the case for democratic socialism. He concludes his article expressing the belief that a united Labor party will reject revisionism. For the time being, he is unquestionably correct, but this short-lived discussion has indicated a wide and deep-going set of differences. This prospect is set out in editorial remarks in the May/June 1960 issue of *New Left Review,* publication of what we may describe as the most radical group in the Labor Party.

> The debate about Clause 4 is a debate which never really happened. Or rather, it would be truer to say that a phony debate, purposefully raised by Mr. Gaitskell and his close compatriots in order to strangle the subject of common ownership once and for all, and conducted by them in the most doctrinal manner possible, has come to an end without a clear decision having been declared one way or another. . . . the debate at the top failed to connect: it neither settled the questions of "means" and "ends," nor did it envisage anything like a political timetable for the Labor Movement. While the National Executive labored and travailed over words, the electorate yawned.

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A SYMPOSIUM ON TV

All right, so TV stinks to heaven. But what are you going to do about it, just continue to criticize, like good dissenters, or make some concrete proposals for changes or improvements?

Irving Howe

Anything as bad as TV must be susceptible to *some* improvement, but the one sure way of not getting it is to make the programs more "cultural." The TV chains and the FCC are momentarily nervous, and so they chatter about public responsibility and raising the cultural level, as if these things could be done the way barren fields are sprayed with fertilizer.

Perhaps, in one sense, they can. We should expect in the next few years a proliferation of the solemn and the pompous, a growth of programs featuring adaptations of the classics, prose poems about moral values, and drippy conversations with intellectuals. No prospect could be more chilling. Pumped up with significance, the average program will undergo a transmutation. *Johnny Loves Suzie* will reappear as *Antigone* or *Moby Dick;* a sad minority of culture-seekers will make appreciative sounds because they equate art with boredom; and the mass of spectators, less inhibited, will simply decide that if that is art, then to hell with it.

People say TV is a neutral mechanism, to be used for good or ill, depending on who controls it. This sounds very judicious and sensible, but it might turn out to be nonsense. Suppose TV had an ideal audience (like us) and an ideal sponsorship (again, us). Would it necessarily become a medium hospitable to art? No one can say for certain; but I suspect the results might disappoint. The fact that TV reaches its enormous audience at one time rather than through a progression in time, creates greater difficulties than anyone has yet admitted. In three months our ideal sponsors—I assume them to have virtually unlimited money, talent and energy—would probably exhaust the great classics of the theatre, to say nothing of themselves. What next?

(You may say: how absurd to suppose that the classics can be run through in three months, even under ideal conditions. But that's exactly the point: TV is the kind of medium which drives people to absurdities.)

TV needs too much and asks too much; it eats up everything in sight. Art comes occasionally, neither by wish nor demand. TV transforms quantity into a shattering imperative and like all mass culture, aspires toward filling every minute, every silence. Art cannot be adjusted to such a ruthlessly *consuming* and mechanical rhythm; no one can genuinely respond to art for a fraction of the time that TV watchers spend with their

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dope. As Harold Rosenberg says, art is "a thing labelled FOR CERTAIN MOMENTS ONLY."

The trouble with certain segments of the middle class today is that, in order to fill or cover up an emptiness in their lives partly created by sickening kinds of work, they turn desperately to "culture." They expect too much from it; they want to saturate themselves in it, as in a deep fry. "Culture" becomes the new opium of the people; and it will spread itself across TV, a pall of "improvement," with suffocating effects.

That our sick society makes TV worse than it need be, I grant. But should we not face the possibility that the very structure of TV, like that of *some* other mass media, may be incompatible with serious art?

Which is not to say that TV couldn't be improved in certain small and definite ways. Cut the amount of time allowed for commercials; provide more tolerable amusements of an unpretentious kind; play the summer's baseball games over again in the winter. But such minor things apart, who cares? Who really wants or needs TV, who can stand all that yak, all that noise pumped into one's house? It's not as if anyone has ever run out of books to read or pictures to see, as if anyone no longer has people with whom to talk or silences to enjoy. My hunch is that the people who want so much to "improve" TV are those who form an army of secret captives and would like to find public sanction for their vice.

All this, assuredly, makes one "negative." Fine; let others gild the rubbish, while critics keep saying: it *is* rubbish. As David Riesman noted recently, the American intellectuals were of more use to their country when they had less use for it.

Bernard Rosenberg

What can we do about mass culture? One may as well ask: what can we do about the Hell bomb? Indeed, in an unrecapturable moment of truth, Gilbert Seldes said that next to the H bomb no force on earth is as dangerous as television. What can we do about totalitarianism? Study the monster, surely. Likewise mass culture. Handle those sleazy goods. Hold your nose, take a bath later on, but handle them now; otherwise all of us will be overcome by their fumes. It is better to create art than to analyze sub-art, and it is better to build the good society than to denounce tyranny. But would any man who cherishes his sanity withdraw from the battle against kitsch and Khrushchev for that reason?

What? There is some merit in mass culture? Yes, and the trains ran on time in Mussolini's Italy, Hitler solved the unemployment problem and Mr. K. will supply the Soviet citizen with more gadgets. I do not confound the totalitarian system, creeping or full-blown, with its chief non-military instrumentality. However, reason and experience suggest that the only possible attitude to both phenomena *is intransigent opposition*. My concrete proposal is: just continue to criticize, like good dissenters.

What other task do we have than to resist all engines of dehumanization? You can change or improve them no more easily that you could do busi-

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ness with Hitler. We must try to keep the rot from spreading; there is no point in helping to prettify it. The addition of a creditable performance here and there on TV will not change its basically unalterable character. In today's world mass media have to be fought from outside their precincts. They are not susceptible to reform, and should be damned out of hand as an assault on our humanity. But you already know "TV stinks to high heaven." Then have no part of it!

By last year there were more TV sets than bathtubs in this country. A Westinghouse report informed us that Americans were averaging a greater number of hours before the TV screen per week than they put in on their jobs. Obviously, we didn't just watch. Some of us made love before the cathode tube. Others played cards. (All that and "moonlighting," or working for the sake of your widow, too!)

Well, this is caricature. However, what appears to be exaggerated here can also be outstripped by reality. After all, Mao *does* have radios blaring away in the public square of every Chinese village; all Chinese trains *are* equipped with radios that no passenger can turn off; Castro *has* inaugurated government by television. How many captive listeners do you need before those who praise mass culture will admit that people can now become addled to an unparalleled extent by mass communications?

I COUNT MYSELF among those who are both frightened and revolted by mass culture. To say this is not to express highbrow snobbery, for by now the issue greatly transcends questions of taste. We are all in danger of losing our manhood as modern technological communication turns us into processed cheese. I do not exclude myself. On the contrary, I see the threat as one that poses itself directly to me and my children—who are endangered by strontium ninety in their milk and, less so but disturbingly, by noxious fare from the mass media. Let us be clear that we are not contemptuous of "the masses," and let us identify those who are. This is constructive work, something we can do. Not "we" with our alternative, which is betterment of the species, but "they" with their insistence that most men are constitutionally unable to rise above an idiot level, hold "the masses" in hopeless and unwarranted contempt.

Marshall McLuhan recently remarked that human history before Gutenberg could be viewed as one long preliterate age; that for 500 years after Gutenberg, men lived through the literate age; and from now on we shall enjoy the postliterate or electronic age. He was not unduly upset by that prospect. Certainly the likes of Nasser, Mao and Castro should rejoice to learn, as if they did not already know, that literacy will not be a precondition to the fulfillment of their ghastly designs on the human spirit. Henceforth it will be much easier not just to exploit but to totalitarianize a "backward people." We are not faced with politics on the one hand and mass culture on the other, any more than we are faced with politics on the one hand and H bombs on the other. Of course, they represent different and perhaps incommensurable magnitudes. Yet, whoever enlists himself on the side of human dignity and political survival, will struggle with all his resources against further contamination of the atmosphere by radioactive poison *and* by cultural fallout.

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Murray Hausknecht

Given the structure of American television, anything produced today must be defined as a commodity and evaluated in terms of its effectiveness for selling other commodities. "Improvement" of television, then, is contingent upon a shift in control and structure so that other values can become operative. Such a change in structure and control could come about if those who presently own and control relinquish control, or if the system were "nationalized."

Even if the latter were a realistic probability—the first is of course merely a logical alternative—the fact that art and education are fundamentally subversive of the social order when viewed from the perspective of presidents, congressmen and bureaucrats means that government control would lead to no noticeable improvement and perhaps an even greater sterilization of content.

Another logical alternative is the construction of another network of television stations based upon values more likely to lead to "worthwhile" television. This is not a practical possibility.

In short, "improvement" of television above the level of keeping animated hemorrhoid advertisements off the air is a practical impossibility. Those who are "concerned" about television must learn to look upon it as a physician does a virus: Something which makes people sick and contributes to the general debility of organisms, but about which one can do nothing except prescribe placebos to maintain the patient's morale.

Ernest van den Haag

TV bores me. Discussions of TV bore me almost as much.

TV must cater to an average of established tastes. Occasional new gimmicks are possible, even the discovery of hitherto unexploited aspects of accepted styles. But everything either is or immediately becomes a cliché, something which excites or tranquillizes, but doesn't actually communicate: a pseudo-communication produced for and consumed by a pseudo-community.

It is silly to argue that malevolent tycoons perversely make TV as bad as it is, to corrupt the masses—those noble savages just emerging from Rousseau's primeval forests. The tycoons became and remain tycoons because they put on what people wish to see. Else they wouldn't sell much soap.

Government control could not change this significantly in our democracy; we would still get, if more clumsily presented, what people like to see—probably with some vulgarity and all liveliness removed. In a dictatorship this might be different. But the samples in the recent past didn't look too good. And even if it were to bring better TV, this hardly is enough to favor dictatorship, which might also produce worse TV (things can always be worse)—and we couldn't even discuss it in DISSENT.

Can TV be improved, i.e. made to

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cater to my taste rather than to an average of tastes—which is what must be meant by improvement? There is no way of bringing that about—which makes it unnecessary to wonder how desirable it might be.

Why do people have the tastes for which TV is produced? Little is known about what forms taste, yet too much to discuss it here.* One thing seems certain: serious art disturbs the peace of mind of those who actually experience it. It bores the others. Its function is to reveal, renew, upset, shake up, question. Most people don't want to be disturbed. Their peace of mind has been achieved by avoiding experience, glossing over questions, by sedatives, including sedative beliefs. They want to be excited and diverted —but not seriously affected. To be sure, serious art might lead to serenity, too, sometimes—but serenity is achieved, if at all, through a travail that people wish to avoid. I can't blame them—not everyone wishes to examine life and often for good reason. Unfortunately, even things that, without being serious art, are genuinely interesting, amusing, witty and esthetically pleasing, are liked mostly by people who also care for serious art and experience. Those who spend their lives avoiding it, like zany spectacles and grandiose pseudo-art. 16 girls 16, preternaturally tall, may attempt to take the place of an unsatisfactory actuality—as may synthetic glamor, or maudlinness. Art does not replace, it deepens experience. If there is no experience, there is TV. In short, to change TV and leave it popular, our whole civilization would have to be changed. I don't think it can be done. (And no political revolution would help.) But nothing would more pleasantly surprise me than to be wrong.

•

Some modest proposals: If each TV program were addressed to as small and homogeneous (by self selection) a public as economically feasible, more tastes could be satisfied rather than averaged. Pay TV would be one way of doing that. The smaller the group sharing a program, the less anonymously average the program will have to be. The more hope, therefore. One may also contemplate a progressive tax, to make it less and less profitable to increase the number of subscribers after the economically necessary number has been reached. This would reduce the station's temptation to cater to additional taste levels.

Non-pay stations might be taxed in terms of their revenue from advertising. The effect would be similar. Altogether, TV should be taxed no less than liquor, and for the same reasons: it takes too much out of people's lives and contributes too little.

* I've tried to suggest some ingredients in Ch. XV of *The Fabric of Society* (Harcourt Brace).

Dwight Macdonald

There are two ways the level of TV might be raised. One is to have a revolution led by people like us. This is not at the moment historically viable, as we used to say, and even if it were, I've somehow lost my taste for revolutions. The other begins with giving up that seductive "democratic" hope that the masses can be improved-educated-refined-stimulated-awakened *en masse* so to speak, a hope common to both

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the Marxist and the liberal-bourgeois traditions and a hope that has been consistently disappointed by the events of the last two centuries, from popular education to *Life* magazine. We must give this up and think in more modest and sensible terms. The serious question is: How can we provide TV on a high level for those who want it? As for the rest, let 'em eat Westerns.

An important discovery since 1945 is that it is not necessary to think in terms of One Big Audience. There are a number of commercially "interesting" audiences which can be appealed to with material that would not go down with One Big Audience. Examples are the success of the quality paperbacks and of classical recordings (which actually sell as much as rock 'n roll—one-quarter of total sales), and the amazing proliferation of art museums, symphony orchestras, theater groups, and opera companies throughout the provinces. There now is in movie distribution a relatively small but still profitable nation-wide network of "art theaters" which show foreign films, often Bardot-type sexologies but also often serious work that would never go in the big houses.

In TV, how can the present One Big Audience be split into smaller units where quality would have a chance? (I take it for granted that the larger and hence the less differentiated the audience, the less chance there is of something original and lively creeping in, since the principle of the lowest common denominator applies.) One possibility is pay TV (only those who subscribe could get the program, like a magazine). The networks oppose this on philanthropic grounds; they don't see why the customer should have to pay for what he now gets free. But some of us would rather pay for bread than get stones for nothing.

Another solution would be to put on good programs without worrying about competition from the commercial shows. Some one would have to pick up the check—an eccentric millionaire, a foundation, perhaps even the networks (which, after all, are given their channels from the Government on the theory that they'll do something for "the public interest"). They do make a gesture even now, on Sunday when most of the One Big Audience is either going to church, playing golf, or snoozing off the Sunday dinner. Up to eight o'clock, Sunday is the highbrow ghetto on TV; then Ed Sullivan takes over—except for that curious three-hour marathon, David Susskind's *Open End*. Here is payola in reverse—the devoted conversationalists here don't get paid even for their performance. And there are no prizes.

A CURIOUS EFFORT to straddle the gap between Culture and Commerce was the late *Omnibus*. Although the Ford Foundation paid the bill, for some psycho-economic reason (which Veblen or Weber could have analyzed better than I can) the Foundation seemed to feel it would have been immoral if the show had not at least *tried* to break even. And so *Omnibus* ruptured itself by attempting to be both serious and popular. Its feature on the Renaissance, for instance, starred Charlton Heston dressed up like a cinquecento Davy Crockett; Alistair Cooke, *Omnibus's* suavely condescending *compère,* opened the ball with "Now, 'renaissance' is a French word meaning 'rebirth' "; it didn't hurt a bit, really. The result was some good things, more trivialities (a visit to a retired race horse,

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the world's champion figure ice-skater), and, for the most part, such hopelessly mixed-up efforts as the Renaissance program. Also a 17,000,000 audience. A real scandal.

The British Broadcasting Company's famous Third Program has an audience of between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000, something less than a tenth of the audiences of its own Light (lowbrow) and Home (middlebrow) programs. But since the BBC is owned and run by the State, it can make this frank cultural division without worrying about relative audience-sizes. (There is now also a non-State, independent, TV network which is doing quite well, commercially.) I favor a Third Program over here but not one controlled by the State. Our society is just too damned democratic —as against England where nobody thinks it reprehensible if the highbrows have their culture and the lowbrows have their kitsch. A TV network controlled by Congress is not likely to please people like us.

So it's either pay TV or that eccentric millionaire. Pay TV would achieve the level of our magazines, a modest enough gain. That is, the individual subscriber could at least "vote" by giving or withholding his money, and the advertisers would not directly control the content. Perhaps the eccentric millionaire—or, if such can be imagined, the eccentric foundation—is our best bet. Of course, there's always the Federal Communications Commission. It represents The Public Interest, which must include us, or anyway somebody. But—

> Witnesses representing religious, civic and parent-teacher groups charged that there was a disproportionate volume of dramatic mayhem on video.
>
> John C. Doerfer, chairman of the F.C.C., inquired wryly how the Government could lay down one rule for the violence in "Hamlet" and another for the miscellaneous homicides in the likes of "Peter Gunn." (N.Y. *Times,* Dec. 7, 1959)

And—

> The Chairman of the F.C.C. said today that the agency had a continuing concern for "the intellectual minority" of television viewers.
>
> He explained, however, that at the moment he was not sure of the practical steps that could be taken by the Government to satisfy more of the cultural wants of that group, and observed that the seven members of the F.C.C. would not personally have time to make broad critical appraisals of the output of more than 500 television stations.
>
> Such a mass monitoring job, he said, would have to be assigned to the staff of the F.C.C. The staff, however, would have to have some general criteria as to what constituted satisfactory programming in the public interest.
>
> Noting that it was hard to find two reviewers who could agree on a given program, Mr. Doerfer asked:
>
> "Who's going to be the third man in the argument between Mr. Gould of the N.Y. *Times* and Mr. Crosby of the N.Y. *Herald-Tribune?*" (N.Y. *Times,* Dec. 8, 1959)

Leaving aside the fact that Mr. Gould and Mr. Crosby rarely disagree—the level of TV being such that it needs no Blackmur or Tate to discriminate —one somehow gets the impression that Mr. Doerfer is not the man to solve the problem. So we're back to that off-beat millionaire. Or that maverick foundation.

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BOOKS

A Definition of Terms

THE POLITICS OF MASS SOCIETY, by William Kornhauser. Free Press. 1959.

Of all the words employed by Socialists, Sociologists, Liberals, Political Scientists, Writers and Literary Critics, none has been so abused as the word "mass." Whether it has been applied to society, politics, civilization, or culture, or simply to The Masses, it has been used vaguely and without specific meaning. Indeed, the whole concept of masses as applied to twentieth-century life has become so corrupt from lack of definition that to speak or write the word today is immediately to run the risk of identifying oneself as a snob—and quite correctly too.

Correctly, because the viable concept of mass has been taken over by the culture-snobs who in America derive part of their inspiration from a fear of The Revolt of the Masses as it has been enunciated by the Holders of High Culture. Naturally, the culture-snobs have not been misusing the word only to protect High Culture. It has been also one foundation for a fatigued but exquisite form of eliteism. In short, they have taken over the word to create and protect a privileged position for themselves.

Not only, therefore, does any friendly person feel embarrassed to use such a phrase as "The Masses," but in addition the phrase has come to mean a group of people for whom one has a dislike. The Masses are The Others in their more rowdy moments.

Of all the offensives of the culture-snob—and there are many—this ruination of a significant concept is one of his worst. For "mass" is in fact a significant concept in this century. That modern society *is* a mass society in many of its most important manifestations can hardly be doubted; therefore, the easy attitude of moaning and gnashing of teeth will no longer do.

HOW DOES ONE KNOW that he is living in a mass society if he has no good definition of what a mass society is? By instinct. But since that answer will not be good enough except for those who have the same instinct it is necessary to have a scientific definition. With the appearance of William Kornhauser's *The Politics of Mass Society* it can be said that the heavy grinding of the academic mill has for once justified itself. For Kornhauser's book gives a concrete, logical, unemotional and—best of all—useful definition and theory of mass society.

Kornhauser comes to his definition through the study of the impact of mass society on liberal democracy. His book is less important for what it says about that impact than for the general theory which it postulates.

Kornhauser loves to summarize his

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arguments, so one may give him his head for a moment.

> The central argument of this study is that insofar as a society is a *mass society,* it will be vulnerable to political movements, destructive of liberal democratic institutions; while insofar as a society is *pluralist,* these institutions will be strong.

But what is that mass society?

> Our conception of mass society involves the following major proposition: a high rate of mass behavior may be expected when both elites and non-elites lack social insulation; that is, when elites are accessible to direct intervention by non-elites, and when non-elites are available for direct mobilization by elites.

A mass society, therefore, to Kornhauser is the opposite of a pluralist society, for it is essentially marked by an *absence* of pluralist features, i.e., of a meaningful intermediate group life of the kind which exists between the primary unit of the family and the all-inclusive unit of the nation-state. For when those groups (among which he includes classes) give way as places for significant behavior, then the individual has lost touch with the only form of "proximate" social objective open to him. Hence arise certain aspects of mass behavior—the individual becomes concerned with things remote from his personal life; his mode of response to remote objects becomes direct; there is rapid and unstable oscillation between activism and apathy—which result from the lessening of the "sense of reality, and responsibility to be found in concern for proximate objects."

On the other hand there also occurs at the same time a change in the relationship of elites to non-elites. The elites become accessible and the non-elites available. That is—and this point is the crux of Kornhauser's statement of the significance of mass society for politics—the elites are no longer insulated from direct mass action by the "people" (now the masses) as they were when the desires of the many were mediated through the groups of which they were members (e.g., a trade union). At the same time, the elite can now reach the individual directly and manipulate him because there is no organizational filter between the elite and the many.

That this picture of the nature of mass society contains important elements of truth can hardly be doubted. An extreme example of the politics of such a society would be one in which management could directly influence the workers through, say, television propaganda and where the workers would act directly on management through riots, etc., all because the trade union, which in a plural society would intervene between the two, is now absent or has been rendered ineffectual. One result of the accessibility of elites and the availability of non-elites is pointed out by Kornhauser.

> Members of elites are recruited from the mass and continue to be exposed to the values of the mass, so that even they tend to accept populist values. This can only lead to a lack of security and confidence in their role as leaders... They do not develop the will to lead, nor a firm sense of responsibility for leadership.

As a result of this theory of mass society Kornhauser comes to the following conclusion about its danger to democracy: "The nihilism of the masses tends to be a greater threat to liberal democracy than the antagonism between classes." For as social ties disintegrate and as social aliena-

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tion increases, receptivity to mass symbols and the manipulation of leaders grows.

KORNHAUSER GOES on to distinguish totalitarian society (inaccessible elites and available non-elites), plural society (accessible elites and unavailable non-elites), communal society (inaccessible elites and unavailable non-elites) from mass society (accessible elites and available non-elites). If those definitions sound overly neat one is thankful; it is time for neatness. He further describes the structure of mass society in terms of the "weakness of intermediate relations, the isolation of primary relations, and the centralization of national relations." One must repeat that there is no longer excuse for an illiterate use of the phrase, mass society.

The meaning of this beautifully precise theory for politics is given in Kornhauser's sections on the social sources of mass movements and the social composition of mass movements. Here *The Politics of Mass Society* is less satisfactory, mainly because sociologists have great difficulty in comprehending that events stripped of their context are without significance and prove nothing. Thus to say that "mass movements appeal to the unemployed . . . as ways of overcoming feelings of anxiety and futility . . . " is to say almost nothing. Nevertheless Kornhauser's emphasis on discontinuities in the social process and social life as the causes of mass society is certainly fruitful. For example, he points out that it is not urbanization as such which creates mass society but discontinuities in community life which may be caused by urbanization in certain circumstances (e.g., very rapid rates of urbanization). He also makes it clear—and one is especially grateful for this assertion—that not democracy as such produces mass movements, but discontinuities in political authority.

It is unfair to Kornhauser to leave off a summary of his book at this point, but since his conclusions raise an important issue one must pass over from assent to dissent. Before doing that, let me say: this book should be read.

In his conclusion Kornhauser does not hesitate to ask the question, is America a mass society or on the way of becoming a mass society? His answer is, No. He says No because not only Marx but Weber was wrong too. Marx was wrong because it is not in the most highly developed societies that unrest occurs. Weber was wrong because bureaucratization has not destroyed the pluralistic middle-class base in America.

> *It* may be granted that the property basis of social power and participation is weakened by the shift from an enterpreneurial to an employee society. But at the same time new forms of organization, such as professional associations and civic groups, have been developing to take its place. As a result, members of the new middle class have high rates of participation in voluntary associations, political affairs, and community life. . . . The evidence does not support the contention that the new middle classes are composed of atomized masses.

Nor is it true that because people feel ineffective in public affairs there is a tendency towards a mass society, for that feeling is due to the complexity of public events, not to lack of formal opportunities to engage in political activities. In addition, he says, more and more of the population is becoming educated and going into professional occupations

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while at the same time the elites are increasingly open.

THUS KORNHAUSER refuses to apply his own theory to modern America. This review is hardly the place to argue the issue out, but I would indicate that his reasoning in regard to America is the result of a lacuna in his theory, and to point to some evidence which would lead to a contrary conclusion. The weakness in his theory is its lack of criteria by which the *meaningfulness* or *intensity* of group life, of the intermediate institutions of a plural society, can be evaluated. How does one know if all those associations of the middle class and its busy professional activities are significant group experiences? Are they not on the contrary more and more boring routines for already bored people? There is good reason to believe that the latter is true, that the American middle class today is aware of its own social impotence and is now simply reduced to making jokes about it.

Most of the things this reviewer knows about America indicates that a galloping massification of the middle class is well under way. It may ultimately be resisted but as of now almost all the forces in American society are working for it and almost none against it. Indeed the loyalty of the steel workers to their union in the recent strike indicates that a huge joke is about to be played on the American middle class. For it seems possible that the middle class will become "massified" before the working class. The middle class is now being made the victim of its own instruments and methods of mass exploitation. I challenge anyone to tell me what intermediate social institution exists to which the American middle class in America would have been as loyal as the steel worker was to his union. The corporation for which the middle-class individual works? What a joke. The salaried middle-class man in America will shift jobs in a flash at the right price. The suburb in which the middle-class individual has found a temporary camp? We needn't go into *that*.

There is also some disturbing empirical evidence which points to the growth of a mass society in America in Kornhauser's terms. He points to social alienation "as the central problem posed by the theory of mass society." A recent study of the political life of the "citizen" of Boston ("Political Alienation and Political Structure," an unpublished MS by Murray Levin) shows such an appalling degree of social alienation in that "city" that one can only despair of liberal democracy in such a situation. Professor Levin shows that all the forms of social alienation are present in Boston today and manifest themselves especially at election time. Feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement are all found to be typical of the Boston population (of all classes) as it faces the polling booth. It is a city so inundated with corruption that the vote has ceased to have meaning; Bostonians today exhibit "a state of mind characterized by feelings of distrust of politicians and the political process, and a belief that the individual voter is not part of the process, i.e., that he is an alien in the political world."

Even the corrupt chumminess of the local wards is disappearing in Boston as it becomes more and more inhabitated by a new middle class.

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Thus "the majority of the Boston electorate, who are elementary or high school graduates, salaried, and employed in blue collar or white collar jobs . . . perceives the political structure primarily in terms of the 'big guys' versus the 'little guys.'" But the upper income groups are no better off, for they "experience political alienation in the forms of meaningless, normlessness and estrangement more than in the form of powerlessness." Come to Boston and observe social alienation in action!

But whatever the result of the argument about the condition of American society, one must be grateful to Kornhauser for giving us the proper terms in which to argue.

WILLIAM J. NEWMAN

Sociology and the Community

THE ECLIPSE OF COMMUNITY, by Maurice R. Stein. Princeton University Press. 1960. $6.00.

The Eclipse of Community is a reasoned manual of important American community studies of the past fifty years. One of its great merits is how it implicitly tells the history of half a century by paraphrasing what the successive sociologists have tended to emphasize—from the urban dislocation in the Chicago studies, through the industrial and class conflicts of Middletown and Yankee City, to the suburbanism of Park Forest and Crestwood Heights. As new problems emerge, older ones are paid less attention; but the older ones were not really solved, so there is a deepening crisis; and I guess this is what Professor Stein means by his title.

The book is always interesting and informative, and often lovely. Then reading it, and especially finishing reading it, I am at a loss how (it seems to me) sociology *makes itself* stupid, by the limitations it sets to its inquiry. It is not that the sociologists try to be "scientific" and avoid evaluation. On the contrary, Professor Stein not only probes but evaluates—the criteria are not always explicit—class relations, production and consumption attitudes, conformity and deviation, gaps in the rites of growing up, unconscious alienations and identifications. Yet he austerely will not talk about justice, the value of any of the products or of the culture, the happiness or virtue of any of the people, or the success and failure or effort and struggle of a society in nature and history. There is a good deal of discussion of Identity in this book, but not much mention of the mission, task, justification, or achievement that could constitute an identity. Why must this be? I am puzzled and would like to know, and I am jotting down the following random comments just in order to elicit a reply from the author. For I am convinced that Maurice Stein understands quite well what bothers some of us with present-day sociology, and perhaps he can help us dig what sociologists are doing.

A LUDICROUS INSTANCE: in analyzing the anxiety of suburban women in a

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commodity-centered society, he says, "Unfortunately the accumulation of appliances can never render cooking permanently meaningful as long as the woman is unsure of its relation to her feminine identity." This is certainly true; but what is (to me) astounding is that nowhere in the discussion does he mention food, feeding a family, the art of cooking, or anything like that, although surely these are the things that must finally make cooking meaningful. Omitting them, how is the cook's identity ever to be realized? What is the merely formal "identity" of a person? Drawing—much too heavily—on Erik Erikson, he says, "Ego-identity depends on the accessibility of roles in which acceptance by significant others is assured. . . . But when the others have begun to question their own identities, [the result is] compulsive role-playing." Certainly; but it does not help a merely formal symbol to multiply it in a hall of mirrors. For a person to *be* somebody—or for there to be a social change or the therapy of a neurosis—at some point there must be real tasks and real achievements. "Being committed" requires more than "meeting expectations;" it requires absorption in some object and world.

The sociologist apparently wants to say that without acceptance and self-acceptance, there cannot be good eating, achieved sex, new science and art, and so forth. Agreed; there cannot. But it is also true that good eating and spontaneous sex, original and disinterested thought, and so forth, are the things that materially constitute acceptance: they make one indispensable, they confirm one's self-appointment, they give courage and security, they *are* identity. In a recent essay on jobs, I argued that the workman's clinging to security comes from the facts that he does not use his particular capacities, and that the product is socially useless; therefore he is not fulfilled and proud, and he is not indispensable. Why do the sociologists *never* mention this kind of proposition? I ask it candidly. Are not achieved real goods, or the failures to achieve real goods, causally operative? Demonstrably and even experimentally? For some reason that I cannot fathom, *these* evaluations are eschewed by sociologists, although they do not avoid evaluating the social structures themselves, in terms of isolation, conflict, insecurity, fragmentation of the process of growing up, *anomie*.

Another aspect of the same is the austere eschewing of underlying "natural" needs and powers as discussable factors, whether by "natural" we mean instinctual, or belonging to the human condition generally, or even culturally ingrained to a degree that they must persist through the arc of change in question. E.g. the appetites, virtues, vices, faculties, that an investigator has to take for granted. For instance, frequently in this book the factor of justice pops up, in speaking of the South, of the Army, and so forth. This is called by Stein "the social-psychological conception of relative deprivation!" Now *is* this adequate to the meaning and *causal power* of justice? He apparently thinks so, for he draws heavily for illustration on the vulgar griping of Bill Mauldin; whereas (it seems to me) the real sociological problem is why there is, in Armies, the childish response of resentment rather than manly indignation and revolt. To answer the real question, we would have to begin at least with Freud's notion of

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the charismatic father-leader in mass-psychology. And soon we would have to go on to the more important problem of why human beings are so imprudent as to take part in modern war. Our sociologist mentions this as follows: "The continuous griping about officers and caste deflected attention from more fundamental sources of dissatisfaction potentially arising from the lack of ideological conviction!" (What a beautifully Veblenesque formulation, as if the student were going to go home and tell his father that teacher was a Red, and it was necessary to veil the idea in as thick a smokescreen as possible.) But is this proposition a believable explanation of the lack of war-resisters, of the paralysis of will and reason? Professor Stein cheerily says that "most of us" were in the armed forces, as though it were a matter clear as day; whereas to me it is far more obscure than the doings of Marduk or Tiamat. Without exploring stronger causes, is it possible to cast much light on the Army as a community?

IN THIS STUDY, Urbanization, Industrialization, and Bureaucratization are the contexts of the eclipse of community. They provide an adequate framework to bring us from discussions of the loneliness, ethnical strife, and delinquency of the twenties to the Organized affluence of our suburbs and exurbs (though there curiously remains plenty of loneliness, ethnical strife, and delinquency; I think that the author underestimates the *accumulation* of unsolved problems.) What I should like to point out here, however, is how through these changes a kind of "nature" seems to survive, almost like a return of the repressed, and pathetically displaced like any dream symbols. The narrowest kind of rural and small-town family mores *revive* in college towns like Berkeley; handicraft and mechanical skill come back comically as Do It Yourself; and the need for simple loyalty is travestied in being a Company Man. In suburbs, these survivals are trivial; but they are very significant in understanding the theory of Bohemias and some radical groups, which Stein treats inadequately. He lays all his stress on Bohemia as "deviant," and he rightly approves of it as such, as a community laboratory for "innovations;" (though when he seems to imply that therefore we ought to *invent* Bohemias, one does not know whether to laugh or cry: it is just what *Time* and *Life* have been doing for the Beats.) But again, what Stein omits is the other side: that a Bohemia at its best is profoundly conservative of nature, insisting on humanly meaningful work, progressive education, better community and sex, *not* because these are innovations, but because they are necessities; just as anarchists are traditional because they think that sun, space, and mutual aid are more basic than economic and social progress. The sociological diagnosis of approvable deviation is a sound and indispensable one; but we must see also the side of stubborn resistance to alienation and *anomie;* otherwise it is inexplicable how a Bohemia could ever produce *worthwhile* innovations, for nothing comes from nothing. (My guess is that our present author is embarrassed in handling these topics, and in handling objective values in general, by restricting himself to formal "community studies," rather than drawing on the more concrete and causal analyses in the poets and novelists. His trouble

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is analogous to Riesman's naive notion of defining the "autonomous" man by a poll.)

The eclipse concludes with three chapters that explain the contributions made to community theory by anthropology, psychoanalysis, and sociology. Surely some chapters are missing: Ethics, Theology, and Criticism. Let me quote two passages. "We have the result—of alienation and anomie—which transforms the human being into an object." If he restricts his methods to anthropology, psychology, and sociology, is he not himself making human society into an object, whose harmonious working would be an end in itself, apart from nature, history, God, or objective value? And does he think that such harmonious working could *indeed* be achieved by devices of anthropology, psychoanalysis, and sociology, without politics, etc.? Again, speaking of a recent study of a community whose motivations are unconscious, he says, " 'Urban dominance' would not be diminished if its existence were known, any more than familiarity with the 'rat race' helps the exurbanites to extract themselves from it." As a pragmatist, I find this an amazing proposition. Are we to call such familiarity *knowledge?* What would be an insight into unconscious motives that did not alter character? And what on earth is the meaning of a truth that does not make a difference in practice?

To repeat, I am convinced that everything I have said here is perfectly familiar to Professor Stein; but I am not familiar with what he would reply. I wish he would tell us.

PAUL GOODMAN

A Study of Martin Luther King

CRUSADER WITHOUT VIOLENCE, by L. D. Reddick. Harper. 237 pp. $3.95.

This book, by an occasional contributor to DISSENT, is a biography of Martin Luther King, the Negro minister who led the bus boycott in Montgomery and has since become one of the most remarkable figures in American public life. But even more valuable, it is a book which gives a detailed, intimate and authoritative picture of the new political trends within the Southern Negro community. It gives that picture from the inside, sympathetically yet not uncritically. It is the work of a partisan, but not the work of a press agent. In short, it is a serious book and it deserves serious attention.

The biographical section is done with appropriate modesty and restraint; it shows the development of King from his origins in a middle-class section of the Atlanta Negro community into one of the most complex and skillful political leaders in the nation. The most interesting parts of the book, however, are those which show, even more than they analyze, exactly what non-violence, the so-called adaptation of Ghandi's tactics to Southern conditions, means. Reddick makes it clear that these new political tactics cannot be understood simply by glib references to their supposed origins, but must be studied in the concrete, as a gradual adaptation to unique circumstances. If for nothing else, that would make his book a valuable one.

L. M.

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Miscellany

Saving the Elephant

Jeremy Larner

TUESDAY, May 3rd, was one of those lovely Spring days in New York: the Yanks were playing Detroit and the trees in City Hall Park were putting out new leaves. Yet before the day was over, Civil Defense officials were to open a sealed envelope revealing that three nuclear bombs had fallen upon New York.

Fortunately, the catastrophe was anticipated, and the would-be disaster turned into a triumph for petty officialdom. Major Robert E. Condon, director of the New York office of Civil Defense, was able to mobilize his battalion of 265,000 city employees and volunteers so efficiently that Times Square was cleared of people in one minute and forty-six seconds, breaking the former record by seventeen seconds. Exhilarated by this achievement, the *New York Times* announced that "8,000,000 in City Go to Shelters." Both the *Times* and the *Herald-Tribune* featured front-page photos of an elephant being taken indoors at the Bronx Zoo.

These were just the local manifestations of a new game that swept the country that Tuesday. The game was called "Operation Alert," and featured the dropping of several hundred Hydrogen Bombs from coast to coast. To coordinate the game, the Civil Defense people commandeered the nation's airwaves; from two to two-thirty p.m. neither radio nor TV was available to entertain the American public. To fill this cultural gap, Civil Defense provided what is known as the Conelrad emergency broadcast. The American people were assured by Conelrad that their civil defense headquarters was operating in an impregnable underground location, where the latest casualty reports were instantly collected via special relay network and sorted into categories by electronic computer. The highlight of the Conelrad broadcast was a canned message from the President of the United States, who announced that "survival cannot be guaranteed merely with a capacity for reprisal." "If," he continued, "despite our efforts toward keeping peace, we should be faced with nuclear attack, a strong Civil Defense, supported by all Americans, offers the best program for the saving of lives."

On the Lower East Side, however, the triangular grassy expanse of City Hall Park was jammed full of people who apparently disagreed with President Eisenhower. Although the *Times* reported that there were only 150 people, there were really well over a thousand people in the park, all of them agreed that "taking shelter" was a meaningless gesture in the face of atomic annihilation. The ralliers had been summoned to the park by an impromptu organization called the Civil Defense Protest Committee, assembled by various pacifist and civic leaders.

As I wandered about the park, I was struck by the fact that this was not a carefully-organized political pressure group, but rather a collection of people who had come as individuals, each seeking to express the dictates of his conscience. I had expected to find a center in the crowd, from which a leader might be directing activities, but instead I was absorbed into a restlessly churning mass. Here and there a familiar figure would be recognized—Dorothy Day of *The Catholic Worker*, A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, David McReynolds of the Socialist Party—and a small swirl of followers would collect. But a scattering of local writers and theatrical people attracted greater attention.

Although no one got up to speak or direct the crowd, the Committee had provided some leaflet passers. The leaflets were well-designed and literate. On the bottom of the page was a quotation by President Eisenhower, designed, as usual, to make everyone happy, which seemed to indicate about how much was to be expected from *him* in the way of peace: "I like to believe that the people, in the long run, are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. I think people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."

Of course, Eisenhower made this state-

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ment in London last August and could hardly have expected it to be quoted in support of civil disobedience. But there it was, and on a picketer's sign it turned up as, "Peace Will Come from The People—Ike," a contraction entirely fair to the original. The President was traveling in good company on the picket signs: such notable figures as George Kennan, Robert Meyner and Jesus Christ were represented by lengthy quotations.

The most conspicuous group in the demonstration was composed of mothers with young children. The baby-carriages lined the sidewalks, and the fenced-off lawns were alive with small children illegally playing on the grass. I overheard a reporter approach a group of women sitting by their carriages and ask one of them whether she would refuse to take shelter even under threat of arrest. "I haven't decided yet," the woman replied. "How about you?" "Oh," said the man, "I'm just a reporter."

AT TWO O'CLOCK a group of twenty policemen entered the park, and struck awkward poses on the fringe of the crowd. When the sirens sounded at two-fifteen, one of them clambered onto a park bench. He was later identified as Henry George Hearn, assistant chief of the Civil Defense Auxiliary Police, a short stocky man with a big brass star on his shoulder. By Virtue of Authority vested in him etc., he ordered everyone to take cover. At this point about half of the crowd moved out of the park and watched further proceedings from across the street. Still, 500 did not budge. Irritated, Henry George Hearn shouted, "Are you Americans or not?" The crowd laughed, whereupon he placed them all under arrest.

In the following fifteen minutes, the cops circulated through the crowd arresting at random, handicapped by the fact that only two paddy-wagons were available. In all, they took twenty-six people. The demonstrators remained mild and disorganized; there was very little heckling. Chiefly they sang, though rarely together; at various times different clusters struck up with "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," "America," and "We Will Not be Moved." At one point a riot could have broken out, when a woman refused to go along peaceably, and was manhandled by three policemen. The protesters booed, but remained true to the principles of non-violence.

After the all-clear about 150 of the demonstrators found their way to nearby Adolescents Court, where the arrested twenty-six (though not adolescents) appeared before Magistrate Edward D. Caiazzo. Magistrate Caiazzo postponed sentencing, but took the opportunity to give the offenders a lecture. "You have disobeyed the law," he told them. "You are undermining the democratic process." The courtroom broke into laughter, and Caiazzo threatened to have it cleared.

Afterwards, Protest Committee leaders said they were encouraged by the turnout, though I couldn't help comparing the thousand people in City Hall Park to the hundred thousand who took part in the Aldermaston-London demonstrations in England. In Wednesday's papers I discovered that we had been joined by 300 students at City College and 150 at Brooklyn College. At City College, campus police confiscated 100 college identification cards, and Dean James S. Peace announced that the students could conceivably be expelled or have their names turned over to the District Attorney. Peace's counterpart at Brooklyn College, Dean Herbert S. Stroup, threatened that the school would "take appropriate action."

The *New York Times* made no editorial comment on either the Alert or the protests. Apparently ignoring President Eisenhower's warning that "survival cannot be guaranteed merely with a capacity for reprisal," it ran a long editorial on May 4th urging a crash program for the production of missile-firing atomic submarines and long-range bombers. In its news columns, the *Times* gave an enthusiastic account of civil defense efficiency. Among other details was a straight-faced report of the situation at Yankee Stadium, where the ball game was interrupted for twenty minutes. The players Took Shelter in the clubhouse, the bleacher fans were herded under the bleachers, while the grandstand and box-seat customers remained in their seats. It was also reported that several women seeking shelter in the Waldorf-Astoria Men's Bar were directed to other shelter areas in the hotel. 100 men remained

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in the bar, which is considered a shelter area. Not mentioned was the fact that, in event of a Hydrogen Bomb dropping on New York City, the Waldorf Hotel, Yankee Stadium with all its bleachers, City Hall and probably even the elephants in Bronx Zoo, would be instantaneously atomized.

U-2 and Its Repercussions

(The author of this comment is a professional student of American military affairs.)

PEACETIME SPYING is politically hazardous. It affects national attitudes in much the same way that the peeping tom affects the neighborhood. Invasions of privacy prompt indignation. They make for anger and desperate unreasonableness. That is why the big blunder with respect to the U-2 may have been made when the plane was sent up, rather than after it came down.

Since the ancillary products of spying make its political costs high, I, for one, would like to see these weighed. In the case of the U-2, I rather doubt that this was done. At least we have the word of the Secretary of State to this effect. The Central Intelligence Agency apparently continues to wield the political power inherent in secrecy and remoteness. CIA dictated the U-2 decision. The Agency's certification of need was enough. Had the U-2 been in fact the obvious instrument of defense against surprise attack that everyone, including the President, has claimed it was, then the U-2 incident might not have been so serious.

In any case it should have been handled differently. But if the U-2 looked more like an offensive than a defensive instrument, then I for one am shocked by the cavalier fashion in which it was flown on the eve of the summit. True, a reconnaissance plane is a low-risk vehicle. True too that the USSR had known, through Radar contact, about the U-2 for years. But a man plus a machine is, after all, a mating of the unstable with the unreliable. Hence, the U-2 could be expected to come down one day.

Because "prevention of surprise attack" could scarcely be construed to be a primary mission, this factor of marginal unreliability was politically of the greatest importance. Everything has been mentioned in the press but this simple inescapable fact.

HOW MANY TIMES have you flown in the last month when skies were really clear both above and beneath you? Imagine a plane at 60,000 feet. Guess at the number of days per year on which the pilot could photograph the ground accurately enough to pick up plane disposition or conventional troop movement that just might be an indication of a surprise attack. *Conclusion*: The contribution of the U-2 was, as Secretary Gates has testified, to pick up missile sites, to check on new missiles, and new industry, to calibrate airfields. The U-2 was a reconnaissance plane. *Targeting was its mission.* It was preparing a counterforce strategy. *It was not preparing for a second, but primarily for a first strike.* At least, had I been a Russian, this is how I would have interpreted the flight.

If this conclusion is correct, and frankly it does seem embarrassingly inescapable, then the USSR's barbaric rudeness seems a bit more comprehensible.

Moreover, although the U.S. did enter the summit meetings like a lamb, this was due more to technological failure than to intention. President Eisenhower had intended to enter like a lion. The *Triton,* our nuclear submarine, had gone around the world underwater and come up on schedule. The Air Force was supposed to have shot a 9000-mile missile into the Indian Ocean—but it failed to make the schedule. So did the *Echo* communications satellite and the first *Midas* photographic satellite. The USSR had its five-ton satellite up on the eve of the conferences—and our U-2 down.

THE WORLD as Khrushchev saw it at the summit may have looked roughly this way:

1. U.S. shows up at disarmament conferences perennially unprepared.
2. U.S. never takes any measures to protect its citizens against a Soviet strike.
3. U.S. knows the USSR capabilities for mobile systems of missiles are not great

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because missiles will have to be put on limited rail facilities.

4. U.S. is zeroing in on the new missile bases within the USSR by means of the U-2.

5. U.S. has taken to preconference sabre-rattling, and has alerts in their midst.

If the world did look this way to the Soviet premier, then it is no wonder that what happened at the summit did happen.

This brings me to two final points. The first has to do with the role of fear. The U.S. is becoming increasingly afraid. Fear is driving us towards an increasingly aggressive stance, as one might expect that it would. Fear is an action incendiary.

The second point is that armament and disarmament are *not* opposite sides of the same coin as is frequently supposed. Arms are designed to maintain peace, just as is arms control. If this is true, then each weapon should be thought of in context with the problem of controlling and eventually destroying it. It is in this connection that the whole U-2 incident seems so dreadfully wrongheaded. Personally, I believe that for the moment disarmament is not as promising as certain types of rearmament in terms of maintaining the peace. But this is irrelevant. The point is that if the Administration really is interested, as it claims, in the issue of arms control, then a chance should be given to try to negotiate the point. The U-2 eclipses the chance for the moment, the chance to discover what it is that the USSR really does want to negotiate—which may, of course, be nothing.

A gesture to put matters back on the right foot might be to offer the USSR overflight rights in the U.S. Even with what they might find out about SAC dispositions, this might be worth our while. The U.S. has its cloudy days.

Yet what is most important is to overcome fear. If there were more faith in men's minds and less in technology, this might be possible. The fact is that all leaders understand that they can bring on a new Dark Ages. Therefore the last of the nihilists were Goebbels and Hitler. Nothing cools passion like feasibility.

LET US MARCH . . .

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the Pass Laws, then the next thing and the next, etc.—up to 1963.

We have decided to secure the total abolition of the Pass Laws. This means that not only the *dom* pass must go, but also the Labor Bureaus and influx control regulations must go with it. The question is how best we can achieve that.

The P.A.C. has made it clear that the first essential is a mental divorce from the Pass Laws. Our people have been so conditioned to the *dom* pass that they have been known to buy it for £15 or risk death in an attempt to salvage it from a burning building. In fact an African does not feel that he is himself if he does not feel the weight of the *dom* pass in his pocket. What is necessary, then, is for every African to make up his mind that from tomorrow he will never carry the *dom* pass. . . .

WE ARE NOT GOING to burn or damage any part of the Pass Book in any manner. We are not going to fight or attempt to fight, insult or attempt to insult, provoke or attempt to provoke the police in their lawful duties. We are not going to throw stones at the police or do anything that is going to obstruct the police. Any person who does all these things shall be dealt with by the police of course and we, as an organization, shall further deal with him. Nobody is carrying money, knives or any dangerous weapon with himself tomorrow.

People are not going to join this struggle with evil personal interests in it. Nobody is going to burn any building, office, school or any property of the government. Nobody is going to

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cut wires or make attempts to cut the railway lines. Nobody is going to burn any bus or threaten anybody.

If anybody does all these things and the police begin to shoot, any person who will die or receive injuries shall be demanded on the head of the mischief maker. The Gods of Africa shall pass judgment on such a person.

The same applies to the police. We do not want to be provoked in any manner. We do not want to be given impossible instructions such as—disperse in three minutes—or some such mumbled orders. If the police officer wants us to disperse we shall disperse. Our leaders will always be on the spot to tell us what to do. We do not want to be tossed about. If you baton charge us we shall not run away but we will not fight back. We shall leave you to the judgment of the eyes of the world and to the great Gods of Africa.

In short—we know what we are doing and we know how to do it.

My prediction is that these police will not arrest us tomorrow. What they are going to do is to arrest the leadership—the so-called agitators or inciters.

The people will be told to disperse and go to work. In that case, the President's order is that you peacefully disperse, without making any noise or interjections. You go home, sit in your houses and paint the house or dig the garden or even play drafts.

You know our demands:

Abolition of Pass Laws, minimum salary of £35 and no victimization of leaders or the people.

Be careful of *New Age, City Post* and possibly the *Argus*. Let us close our ears to what the newspapers say and continue with our dynamic program. We shall win.

We said that "those who are not with us are with the enemy"—at least Mr. Nokwe told us where he stands in yesterday's "City Late." You know what is happening to the Hon. Adv. Duma Nokwe. Yet, it is the work of the good white man—*umlungu osithandayo*. Perhaps Duma Nokwe is not carrying a pass—we do not know.

Whether the struggle fails or succeeds, somebody is to blame for tomorrow's country-wide uprising. Strictly speaking, the campaign is not of our own choice. The hardened stubbornness of the oppressor-group has driven us to a point of desperation. Whether the oppressor likes it or not the Pass Laws must go tomorrow. The myth of white supremacy must be blown to oblivion by the avalanche force of African Nationalism which sweeps the entire continent.

I request the Senior Police Officer in charge to phone Dr. Verwoerd after this meeting and tell him that, *"Hey, Okaffele baphambene ngoku!"* (Hey, the kaffirs have gone mad!)

Fellow Africans, the hour for service, sacrifice, and suffering has come. Let us march in unison to the United States of Africa. Let us march to a new and independent Africa with courage and determination. Let us unite and fight relentlessly for a noble cause.

Forward to Independence!

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LETTERS

The British Left

Editors:

It is hard to believe that a more incorrect impression as to the state of opinion in the British Labor Party could be created than that produced by Stanley Plastrik in the Winter 1960 DISSENT. Nationalization is presented as an issue raised by the left wing. This is simply not so. It was Gaitskell who made the chief issue at the Conference a proposal to amend the party constitution to modify the section that states the party's ultimate aim as common ownership of the means of production. It is true that the left wing opposes such a modification, but they do not leave it at that. Plastrik states that it would be folly to assume that nationalization per se can assure profound reforms in British society. In the context of his article the implication is that the left wing stands for nationalization per se. This is far from being the case. Immediately after the Conference, *Tribune* (the left-wing paper) ran a series on the need for workers' democratic participation in the management of nationalized industry at all levels. Earlier *Tribune* had emphasized many times that the voters' image of the Labor Party as standing for an all powerful state bureaucracy that harasses a helpless citizenry is the fault of the present Party leadership whose approach has always been an exclusively statist one, irrespective of any shift within this statism from nationalization to state control, or state ownership of shares in private corporations. *Tribune* has also consistently criticized bureaucratic practices in the unions, and has opposed the monolithic Standing Orders of the Parliamentary Labor Party and of the groups of Labor Municipal Councillors, which are now at last being modified.

In the part few years could anyone seriously contend that the Labor Left has concentrated on the issue of nationalization? It was the left that immediately took a stand on Suez while Gaitskell straddled the fence for a week after the invasion and then buried the Party campaign after a month. The left has campaigned for colonial freedom. And most prominently of all, the left has concentrated its energies overwhelmingly in the past year on the campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Anyone acquainted with the British Labor Party knows how loose and shifting are the lines within it. (That is one of its virtues.) The left *is* making nationalization an issue now, because Gaitskell chose this as his key issue. It happens that nationalization (per se, if you will) has broader support within the party than workers control of industry, or unilateral nuclear disarmament. Does this mean that the left should allow this basic aim to be taken out of the party constitution simply because it isn't strong enough to put workers control in? . . .

Plastrik seems to have missed the actual point of difference in attitude toward nationalization between Gaitskell and the bulk of the party. This is its relation to the power of the capitalist class in all fields. Gaitskell said not a word about the problem of power. To him the whole question was whether an industry was being operated efficiently in private hands. For Plastrik there are other considerations. He states "Nationalization of industry is a possible means toward social ends: toward effective social planning, toward the diminution of the power of private capital, toward the spread of democracy into economic life. To cry for more nationalization in the name of 'socialist fundamentals,' as does the left wing, is to obscure the issues." This statement is nonsense. Leftwingers may somewhere use the term, but in articles and speeches they have stated a thousand times that they want nationalization for precisely the purposes Plastrik mentions so approvingly. Actually Plastrik agrees with the substance of left wing Labor thinking on this subject but seems to feel a need to distort the situation in order to disassociate himself from the Labor Party left.

SAUL MENDELSON

STANLEY PLASTRIK *replies:*

Saul Mendelson seems unaware of the fact that the hue-and-cry over nationalization is now a good many years old in the British Labor movement. The "left wing" has raised this issue in one or an-

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other form at each Labor Party conference over the past ten years. More and more it has tended to use this issue as the touchstone marking off "socialists" from non-socialists. The now-postponed or withdrawn Gaitskell amendment to the party constitution was but the latest —probably the most significant; surely not the last—round in a long battle.

I cite as evidence a typical statement by Ralph Miliband in the *New Left Review*, product of the merger between two leftist publications: "What does not admit of 'rethinking,' at least for a party which claims to be committed to the creation of a socialist order of society, is whether common ownership is central to its purpose."

There would be no difficulty in producing many similar and equally categoric statements.

But why argue over who fired the opening shots, particularly in a debate rooted in the past and likely to extend far into the future. The article which Saul Mendelson criticizes presented my view that a kind of fundamentalist reiteration of the old formulas would not do any more than a brushing aside of the need for profound structural changes in British society would do. What was wrong in this?

In general, my sympathies are with the "left," taking this term in its largest sense. But I see the difficulty of British socialism not primarily as a struggle between "left" and "right" but as a terrible dilemma rooted in British society itself. To the degree that welfare capitalism has taken the edge off class conflicts in Britain the movement has lost its steam; and it clearly has not progressed too far in working out a new reason for its existence. This problem falls equally upon the "right" and "left" wings.

Sense of Identity

Editors:

Recently in a Dallas bookstore I came across *Voices of Dissent*, which I quickly purchased. I was very much impressed with the contents of the book. I feel a deep sense of identity with the overall attitude and many of the specific ideas developed in the book. Also, it offers a stimulating supplement to my course of study in political science. For these reasons I became interested, to the point of subscribing. TEXAS STUDENT

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